

THE VOTE

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

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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

Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

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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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WHAT WE THINK.

Trade Boards.

The Parliamentary paper issued during the week by the Board of Trade establishes a Trade Board for the worst-paid branches of the tailoring trade. The paper contains many complicated regulations for the formation of and conduct of business by the new Board and its District Trade Committees, some of which are admirable and some of doubtful value. Among the latter are the provisions with regard to attendance, which seem to be specially designed to provide opportunities for the impeding of business. The Trade Boards have been strenuously advocated for some years with the object of abolishing sweating by the institution of a standard living wage for unorganised workers, and with this object we can have no quarrel: indeed, we endorse it, the more readily because the greater number of sweated workers are women. But the institution of Trade Boards, however benevolently conceived, will not solve the problem of the under-payment of women's labour. The progress towards that end will be much retarded so long as the responsible Government of the country imposes artificial sex disabilities upon these same workers which the Trade Boards have been formed to assist. The more powerful partner upon the Board will be able to abuse or escape the new protective machinery, and he will do this the more easily so long as his victims are politically helpless. There seems to be evidence already to hand in the Cradley Heath chain-making industry to show that this contention is sound. The Trade Board for the chain-makers, after sitting for nine months, has established a scale of minimum wages which involves an average increase of 69 per cent. on the wages at present received. This the employers are seeking to evade, and the helpless women are being subjected to pressure with the object of securing their signatures to agreements contracting out of the Trade Board award. The full appreciation of the position in which the women-workers stand is not possible until one knows that the wages when levelled up to the Trade Board standard will only result in a rate of 2½d. per hour!

Grandfathers and Brothers.

With a grandmotherly—we use the word as being synonymous with grandfatherly—Government seeking to exclude barmaids from bars and women gymnasts from public performances, and married women from all outside organised and, incidentally, well-paid, employment, the urgency for the immediate enfranchisement of women lies beyond all disproof. But, as if grandfathers

were not affliction enough, the women-workers must also be troubled with brothers. The dispute in the printing trade still continues. The underpaid woman-worker—who is not allowed to be a Trade Unionist or to demand Trade Union pay—continues to push the Trade Union man out of his job, and he, in full brotherly affection, has decided—in Scotland, at least—to put an end to it. There are two ways of facing the difficulty of this lowering of the wage standard with the unfair incidence of unemployment upon the men: one, the human way, which will recognise that the man suffers a natural retribution for handicapping the woman, and will hasten to remove the handicap; and the other a masculine, one-sexed way which will seek to remove the danger by the exclusion of women from the trade. The Scottish printers have chosen this latter way, and so disgraced themselves; and they are so determined in their antagonism that they have refused to allow the intervention of the Board of Trade and demand of the employers an unconditional acceptance of their terms. By such grandfatherly and brotherly aids, if they go unchecked, we may look to see the number of sweated home-workers greatly increased and a new army added to those already driven by unemployment to the traffic of the streets.

Belfast Linen Workers.

The Medical Officer of Health for Belfast has set a good work going in calling the attention of the authorities to the sweating of the women employed in the linen trade. Here the Trades Council has championed the cause of the sweated women in splendid fashion, showing that spirit of true brotherly comradeship which ought to animate all workers. The statements by women workers that the Medical Officer, if anything, has understated his case, may be thought to need confirmation; but the confirmation of figures is surely sufficient. For clipping machine-embroidered bedspreads the rate of pay is 1d. an hour; for the same work on cushion covers ¾d., 1d., and 1½d. per dozen is paid. Chemises of elaborate design are made for 9d. per dozen, ladies' skirts for 1s. 6d. One woman embroiders gowns, both skirt and bodice, for 3d. each, and each gown takes five hours to complete. These prices are bad enough, but, in addition to the sweating they disclose, it must be remembered that these women have to provide their own machines, thread, needles, light, etc. And the Belfast manufacturers are solemnly protesting that the women are not sweated! It is a curious and significant fact that the enquiry into the women's conditions of work and rate of pay was conducted in camera. It is not in the public interest to exclude members of the public from such an enquiry, the results of which must have far-reaching importance. But it is satisfactory to note that the Belfast Board of Guardians, whose interest in the matter rests on the fact that the sweated workers apply for outdoor relief, have now ordered a return from the relieving officers. This return will give the names of the employing firms, and will contain many interesting revelations.

The Example of Glasgow

The decision of the Glasgow City Council to petition the Government in support of the Conciliation Bill is only the first of what must be a long series. There is ample time before the Houses reassemble in November for every branch of the League to secure a similar endorsement of our demand for immediate legislation.

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PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

Autumn Campaign.

We are rapidly approaching the serious campaign work of the autumn. September brings workers and friends back to their branches, and every branch officer who intends to make a success of the work is busy devising new schemes to draw members together and to interest and enthuse them so that when the call, possibly for militant—certainly for political—action goes forth, as it will go forth, every branch will be ready to lend its strength to the attack, marshalled, disciplined, and effective. We must remember, in the face of opposition, and possibly of disappointment, that the Cause is too great for anything small, mean, or trivial to be allowed to stand in the way. It demands work and sacrifice, and now more than ever it calls for union and good faith.

London Reception.

In view of the presence in London of Mrs. Billington-Greig and all provincial members of the N.E.C., a reception will be held at the head office on Sunday, September 4, at 4 p.m., and all members are cordially invited.

Mary Wollstonecraft Commemoration Meeting.

A particularly interesting function is to take place in Bournemouth on Saturday, 10th inst., including the placing of wreaths on the grave in St. Peter's Churchyard of the pioneer described by her contemporary, Margaret Fuller, as "a woman whose existence proved the need for some new interpretation of woman's rights belonging to that class who, by birth, find themselves in places so narrow that, by breaking bonds, they become outlaws." We are greatly indebted to the generosity of the Men's League in assisting us to arrange a meeting in the evening at St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, at 8 p.m., and full particulars will be published next week. Application for tickets should be made to the office or to Bright's Stores, Bournemouth. It is hoped to make this Commemoration the occasion of a Southern rally, and that all neighbouring branches will participate.

Holiday Propaganda.

Dr. Winifred Patch is now staying at Lyme Regis, Dorset, and desires to get into touch as soon as possible with friends who will assist with Suffrage work. Her address is 19, Marine Parade, and helpers are asked to write at once.

Will prospective visitors to Dover, Folkestone, and Hythe, during September, please communicate with me, as one of our other women-doctors, Dr. Knight, is visiting that part of the country and has kindly promised to push propaganda work there?

New Branches.

In view of the arrangements being made for forming a new branch in Acton, all sympathisers in that district are asked to communicate with Miss Henwood, of 153, St. Albans Avenue, Chiswick, and to attend the meetings held every Thursday evening in the Market Place, Acton, at 8 p.m. New branches are also to be formed in Southsea and Whitchurch, arrangements being in the hands of our Portsmouth Hon. Organiser, Mrs. Whetton, 64, Devonshire Avenue, Southsea. Will members having friends in that part of the country please notify her?

London Open-Air Meetings.

Attention is directed to the special series of park and other meetings to be held this week-end, at which Mrs. Schofield Coates, Miss Manning, Mrs. Sproson, and Mrs. Vulliamy have promised to speak.

Pageant.

Tickets are now on sale for the Bromley and District performance of the Pageant, to be held in Beckenham

Public Hall on September 24th. The first performance is at 3 p.m., and the second one at 8 p.m. This promises to be a great success, and is exciting much interest. Among others taking part are the author herself, Miss Cicely Hamilton; Miss Edith Craig, Miss Janette Steer, Miss Olive Terry, and others equally well known. Early application should be made for tickets.

Garden Parties, Whist Drives, etc.

Members willing to arrange these are invited to communicate with local branch secretaries, who will be pleased to assist with advice, helpers, and speakers. In the case of districts without branches headquarters will gladly help.

"The Vote."
Do not forget to push THE VOTE everywhere and all the time. We want new readers and new advertisers. Every sympathiser can help with street sales or by getting friends to subscribe, and by purchasing from firms advertising. With regard to the latter remember to mention having seen the advertisement in THE VOTE. It is not enough to support advertisers, as many readers do at present. Advertisers must know why we support them.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

CARAVAN TOUR.

We have had a splendid time in Wellingborough. Mrs. Parr gave us the names of several prominent townspeople, most of whom we found heartily in sympathy with the movement. She also helped to keep order by accompanying us on the platform on Monday. There was a very slight disposition to hostility among the juvenile population, but the attitude of the grown-ups soon induced a change of front, and Miss Sidley's speech was received in attentive silence by a large crowd. Postcards and literature sold well, and we took a good collection. In the latter office I was assisted by Mr. Pendered, a nephew of Miss Mary Pendered, the authoress, who is such a good friend to our Cause.

Miss Sidley took for her text on Monday evening "The Need for Woman Suffrage." On Tuesday she answered the "Antis'" usual feeble objections with a humour which was by no means lost upon the crowd. We spent Wednesday paying calls, as it was a market day and we could not therefore hold a meeting. We were entertained to lunch by Miss Mollie Pendered, and had tea with Mrs. England Smith, a sympathiser who was much amused a few days ago by overhearing a very small boy remark, apropos of our chalking efforts, "Votes for women! Plucky beasts to do it!" Two other enthusiastic supporters are Miss James and Miss Wyldes.

There is a charming little café here in Market Street, at which we have lunched several times, as the van is a good way out. On Tuesday the proprietor brought in a new autograph album for us to write in. We responded with inspiring verses, and on Thursday found the café decorated with Miss Sidley's photographs and the colours, and well provided with Suffrage literature. On Thursday afternoon we entertained several ladies at tea on the van. It was, fortunately, very fine, and the party was a great success. So also was the meeting in the evening, the text of which was "Militant Tactics." Again we sold literature and postcards very rapidly, and took a good collection. I think it would be a thousand pities not to establish a branch here, as there are so many willing helpers and the town is so interested. A proof of the latter is that on Tuesday the large crowd which was listening to Miss Sidley stood close through an hour's quite heavy rain.

I wish all the members of the League could go a-gipsying; it is so delightful!

FLORENCE G. HOWARD BURLEIGH.

Open-air Meetings.

On Sunday week a successful meeting was held at Regent's Park, when Mrs. Duval took the chair, and on last Sunday (28th) Mrs. Manson held a large crowd, and afterwards spoke at the Men's League meeting in Hyde Park, where Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Yaldwyn, Mr. Duval, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Jacobs, and Mr. Gugenheim made a strong platform. Next Thursday Mrs. Nevinson speaks at Marble Arch at 7.30, and Miss Morgan Browne at Regent's Park next Sunday, September 4th, at twelve o'clock.—E. DE VISMES.

SUFFRAGE AND THE BIRTH-RATE.

Dr. Helen Hanson Answers the Attack.

At the seventy-eighth annual meeting of the British Medical Association one of the discussions which had been arranged was on the social aspects of the falling birth-rate. In some of the opening papers various charges were brought against women, one of them by Dr. Fremantle, that "Their ideal would seem to be to beat men at their own game. The crown of this arch which they are building for themselves is political power, and woman suffrage in any kind of form is therefore profoundly inimical to the birth-rate." While this paper was in progress a perfect hail of visiting cards from indignant women doctors poured in on the chairman, and in the subsequent discussion Dr. Cadell, Dr. Helen Hanson, and others answered the prejudices of their male confrères. As some of these answers were of too medical a nature for our columns we refrain from giving them, but one at least of them proves that the absence of children was due to the evil life of the husband—a point which was accepted by Dr. Ballantyne, who had carefully omitted it in the first instance.

We give herewith some of the points from the various papers and speeches which had a bearing upon the question which is so vital to us:

DR. BALLANTYNE (paper).—"Yet other causes are perhaps to be found in the higher education of women (in America, at any rate, the college-trained girl has not become the mother of many children), in the entrance of women into economic competition with men, in factory labour among married women, and even possibly in the encouragement of athletics among girls."

DR. F. F. FREMANTLE (paper).—"The girls' public school boast of the strong, determined, well-equipped young women they turn out prepared to face the battles of life. This is their mistake. When the girls are so prepared, they are wholly unprepared to look at the married life as the centre of their aim, to confide their whole selves and futures to men, who shall be their husbands and not their mere colleagues. In all classes of life the appetites of girls are being whetted for distractions, that, however harmless or even useful in themselves, unfit them for domestic duties. Their ideal would seem to be to beat men at their own game. The corollary is that they get out of practice at their own game. The crown of this arch which they are building for themselves is political power, and Woman Suffrage in any kind or form is therefore profoundly inimical to the birth-rate."

DISCUSSION.

DR. BUIST (Dundee).—"For example, one of the evident factors in the falling birth-rate was the increasing industrial employment of women. This in many of its features might be merely a transient social experiment which some persons might describe as the last effect of a system of economic organisation based on the principle of underselling."

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN MOORE (Liverpool).—"Over-rapid birth-rate indicates unfavourable conditions of life, so that (so long as the population was on the increase) a lower birth-rate was a valuable indication of a better social condition of affairs, and a matter on which we should congratulate the country rather than proceed to condolences. . . . From the point of view of quality of the new births, the urging of a rapid rate of child-bearing by the medical profession might have disastrous results; it was of far greater importance to urge upon both working and middle classes that there ought not to be a too rapid production of children in the early years of married life—a process enfeebling to both mother and offspring, and usually followed by a full stop, either artificial or natural, of reproduction altogether."

DR. HELEN HANSON (London).—"Thanks to the higher education of women, their sports, and their larger share in national life, the integrity of family life was on the up-grade. The modern mother was the true companion of her husband and children. The more a mother shared her children's life the better it would be. An immense amount of sterility, gynaecological disease, infant mortality, and race degeneration was caused by vice. It had been found that the more women came into public life the more vice decreased. In Mohammedan countries, where the speaker worked, women were placed under more artificial restrictions than in England, and the amount of immorality and race degeneration was appalling. On the other hand, in Australia, since women had taken part in the political life of the country, the 'age of consent' had been raised, morality was on the up-grade, and infant mortality, which used to be almost the highest among civilised countries, had become almost the lowest. One speaker had intimated that athletics were inimical to motherhood, and the reason that women took them up was a foolish desire to emulate men. The true explanation was that women wanted to live the lives of human beings. One speaker had stated that in his experience it was the selfishness of the woman that prevented parentage. Her own experience was that the woman longed to have children, but the man's selfish love of luxury prevented it. But it was natural that the experience of

men and women differed, and that the aggrieved husband should talk to the man doctor and the aggrieved wife to the woman. That was why men and women were needed together in public life to prevent lopsidedness and wrong impressions.

"Still she had heard of cases where for selfish reasons women refused to have children. But it is unreasonable to expect a woman to consider the good of the State when at every election time we emphasise the fact that it is no concern of hers. Men and women were now more considerate of their progeny than formerly. People with phthisis or insanity in their family did not marry or did not have children, and people whose means did not enable them to be certain of providing comfortably for a large family had small ones. The restrictions placed on the labour of married women were introduced with the innocent intention of increasing the birth-rate and race efficiency, but legislation carried through without consultation with those most concerned—that is, women—was liable to defeat its own object. The State enforced celibacy on nearly all its women officers—queens and charwomen were almost the only exceptions. In many middle class families, when something had gone wrong, the mother became the breadwinner. In the old days, when the father was an invalid or died, there was nothing for it but the hard, uncongenial, unremunerative labour of the boarding-house and inferior school and a miserable start in life for the children. If the production of children was a work of national importance, why did the State penalise marriage and the bearing of children? This cause operated, too, among the poorer classes and produced race suicide. In Birmingham medical statistics proved that infant mortality was greater where restrictions were laid on the labour of married women, not because Nature necessarily approved of these women working, but because she did very strongly disapprove of their children starving. Lastly, at the present time, millions of the upper and middle class women, *quæ* women, were undergoing a struggle severer than any recorded in the history of the world. An analogy might be found in the early Christian era. At times of persecution women hesitated to marry and bring children into the world to suffer as they suffered, and moreover they knew that their loyalty to their faith might lead them—the mothers—away from their homes for longer or shorter periods, to the detriment of their families. The Pauline advice was—under that present distress—to remain unmarried. The same held good now. The women of the present day hesitate to bring daughters into a world which treats them so harshly. The more a woman was refused a natural development as a human being, by so much was she the worse a mother. A normal, untrammelled woman was quite as fond of children as man. Consult her, give her a free hand, decline to treat her as cattle were treated, and little more of race suicide would be heard."

Other women doctors who answered the men's attack were Dr. Grace Cadell, Dr. Elizabeth Bentham, and Dr. Frances Ivens. Dr. Bentham remarked that the profession should give less heed to prejudice and more to proof.

A PSALM OF LIFE.

(With *abject apologies to Longfellow.*)

Wives of great men all remind us
How domestic and sublime
Wives may live, and leave behind them
Only husbands' tracks on time.

Life is real, life is earnest;
A husband great should be our goal.
Dust we are, to dust returneth.
Only husbands have a soul!

Let us, then, be up and doing
With a heart for husbands' fate.
Nothing for ourselves pursuing—
All is well if husbands great!

LEILA USHER.

Abraham Lincoln said:

"I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."

Rev. Charles Aked, D.D., said:

"Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral, and political emancipation of women."

George Meredith said:

"I am strongly in favour of woman suffrage."

MRS. BORRMANN WELLS.

The head of the Propaganda Department is a woman of such boundless energy that she might well be said to have solved the problem of perpetual motion. She has learned how to cram into the ordinary day as large an assortment of duty as the busiest Cabinet Minister and most domestic of Anti-Suffragists could complete, travelling on their several lines of industry. She has a *flair* for effective demonstration—the recent “Lest We Forget” cordon around the House was of her devising, and, while the politicians are holiday-making Mrs. Borrmann Wells is preparing many surprises for their return. She brings a cosmopolitan education to bear upon all her work. Partly educated on the Continent, she attended lectures at Geneva University, and subsequently took up journalism and lecturing. In 1906 she plunged into the militant Suffrage movement, and visited the U.S.A. and Canada on Suffrage business in 1907-8-9, advocating militant methods in New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Toronto, and Montreal. Her suffrage activities in America were many, and she opened the first open-air Suffrage meetings ever held in New York, Cleveland, and Cincinnati. In 1908 she founded what is to-day one of the most flourishing Societies in America, the National Progressive Women's Suffrage Union of America. On her return from America in 1909 she inaugurated the American Legislative Union and the Progressive Women's Suffrage Union of New Jersey. Besides being a strong feminist above everything else, Mrs. Borrmann Wells is a very feminine woman, and, though she organises and takes part in militant demonstrations, and has suffered one month's imprisonment in the third division for participating in a Suffrage “foray” outside the House, she continually regrets that the Government attitude has forced women who want the Vote at an early date to adopt militant tactics.

In reply to a question, “How the movement in America had struck her,” she said: “The American woman has had so many privileges that she has forgotten to ask for her rights. The new movement for Suffrage there has come from a change in the industrial position of women. More of them have now gone into the labour market, and there they are feeling the sense of their own helplessness in securing fair conditions of work when they are not enfranchised. England is, of course, the storm-centre of the movement, and other countries are naturally feeling the reflex action. All agitations for the improvement of women's conditions of work have become international in the way that crises in finance and politics are international. There is a world-wide

demand for justice and fair treatment, and an uprising against systems that alternate between patronage and injustice, according to the class of women they are dealing with.

“When did I first feel the need of the franchise? Well, my sense of logic and my sense of justice told me very many years ago that women were very unfairly treated, and I had realised very early in my life that that indirect influence on legislation which women are supposed to possess is very slow and produces very poor results. When the militant agitation began in 1906 I was very glad to join it. Personally, I desire unity in the Suffrage movement, and I think the silly and provocative tactics of the futile reactionaries who are opposing us have done a lot to help in this direction. Whatever little friction or disagreement one may have disappears when you see a number of ridiculous people declaiming with precarious energy that women do not want the vote. These self-appointed, self-anointed guardians and interpreters of womanhood, Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer, really help the cause they try to hurt.”

“Your idea, then, is a federation of the Suffrage Societies?”

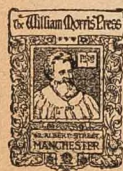
“Yes. A federation on common lines offering in times of peace and in times of elections a united front to the foe. The early Societies did splendid work, and there is no doubt but that they would have eventually obtained the Vote; but we have found the short cut. The advancement of women in many professions has been influenced by the agitation of intellectual women, though, of course, it was also helped by the changes in economic conditions. The drawback to the older movement was that it was too restricted. It was kept in a small area, and did

not touch the great mass of women at all. “The recent phase of the movement has had two actuating motives—the one to educate the country as to the nature of the women's demand and the reasons for it, the other that of focussing public opinion on what was being done by methods which, while they were criticised freely and sometimes harshly, had the saving grace of always compelling attention. The early agitation was too unselfish. It was content to work for enfranchisement of future generations and to accept a post-dated cheque. I do not think that we can do anything until we have a direct influence on legislation, so that we may translate our ideals into concrete form, and I think that the need of this has recently grown peculiarly acute, and for that reason we must not postpone the settlement of the Bill.”

“What do you think of feminism as feminism?”



[Marceau, 258, Fifth Avenue, New York.
MRS. BORRMANN WELLS.



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“Well, I sometimes think that we do not lay sufficient stress on the great and wonderful feminist movement of which Suffrage is but a phase. What fascinates me is the gradual evolution of womanhood. This evolution is a product of the economic pressure of industrialism on the one hand and of the growth of altruism and higher ethical ideals on the other. Partly the chains are dropping off, partly we cast them off. I have not a particle of sex prejudice, and yet I feel that this freeing of the womanhood of the race is more important than anything else in the world to-day. It marks an epoch. How many men are but the sons of ignorant mothers? what will they be when their mothers are free and know their place and their duties in the world?”

As a speaker—clear, convincing, humorous, and eloquent—Mrs. Borrmann Wells is well known. She catches the temper of a crowd out of doors with great quickness, and spreads the knowledge of the movement while humouring them. In connection with the weekly “At Homes” at Caxton Hall she has done yeoman service to the League. Since the recent departmentalising of the rapidly increasing work of the W.F.L. she has concentrated on propaganda with what would appear likely to prove excellent and far-reaching results.

M. O. KENNEDY.

THE HOUSE OF KEYS.

Mr. Hall Caine recently declared that he owed his election to the House of Keys (the Manx Parliament) to the women's vote. It is interesting to recall how women obtained their franchise in this island, and how they escaped the blighting effects of anti-suffrage.

The House of Keys owes its origin to a Scandinavian prince named Orry, who came to the island on a conquering tour in 938 A.D. He established himself on Man, and, having an orderly mind, set about reforming the government of the place. He instituted the House of Keys, which was to be the lower and stronger house of the Insular Legislature, the Council being the nominal upper house. He divided the island into six sheadings, or departments, each having its own sheriff, who was also a coroner; and he further arranged that of the representatives for the House of Keys sixteen should be chosen from the lands of Man and eight from the isles of the West of Scotland, which were then under the Manx Kings. Two years later wise Orry died, but the House of Keys, through the troubled times that prevailed during the centuries that followed maintained the tradition of good Manx government.

In the early part of the fifteenth century, in 1417, when Sir John Stanley became lord of the island, some changes were made in the constitution of the House of Keys. Representatives were only chosen from Man, and subsequently the pernicious custom of appointing The Keys for life was introduced, and election at Tynwald Court, the old place of verbal voting, was lost. Until 1866 this evil state of things prevailed, and “from being the freest and most popular of Constitutions the insular government had become one of the most absolute.”

The Women Vote.

In 1866 an Act was obtained authorising a septennial House of Keys, elected by the people. The franchise was given, in sheadings, to owners of real estate of £8 annual value and to occupiers of not less than £12 annual value, and in towns to owners and occupiers of not less than £8 annual value. Towards 1880 there was a feeling of discontent with the franchise, and a Bill was presently brought in by the Governor in the House of Keys to give the franchise to every male householder with certain qualifications. In Committee of the Keys on November 5th, 1880, an amendment was moved by Mr. Richard Sherwood to omit the word “male” for the purpose of extending the Franchise to women equally qualified. To the eternal credit of the Manxmen and their representatives the amendment was carried by 16 votes to 3, “being a majority of those present and voting, and a vote of two-thirds of the whole number of the House of Keys.”

It had yet to go before the Council, and while agreeing

to the franchise for £4 owners of either sex, they refused it to female occupiers and lodgers. The lodger vote was small, so the House of Keys waived that point, and they sent the Bill back to the Council with the offending occupier still in. Back it came again. The Keys again compromised, and, raising the women occupier qualification to £20, sent the Bill back again. Again it was returned to them, this time with the intimation that any further attempts of this description would cause the Bill to be thrown out altogether.

The Keys, realising that half a loaf was better than no bread, and that, having established the principle of women voting, they would presently gain their point, accepted the suffrage for women owners, forwarding at the same time a protest, and passing a resolution that they agreed only to the proposal to secure the partial concession lest they lose the whole, and that “their opinion on the equal rights of males and females remained unaltered.” There was not a single dissentient to this resolution.

The Act came into force on January 31st, 1881, when it was formally read from the Tynwald Hill, and not long after it was completed by the extension of the qualification to women occupiers as well as owners. At the first electoral poll at the Ayre Sheading in the island women were first at the poll at each of its four polling stations, only two possible voters amongst them being absent. The women were pronounced to be quick, intelligent, and business-like in their procedure, and they “always knew for whom they wished to vote.”

To our supporters in the House of Commons it may be gratifying to know that in Glenfalba Sheading, Mr. Sherwood, the leader of the movement in the House of Keys, received the votes of all the women voters, and was returned at the head of the poll, and in Douglas Mr. Stephen the first candidate to give prominence to the question, was also at the head of the poll.

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

31.—Woman's choice of work is affected by prohibitions in a way that would be regarded as ridiculous in the case of a man. A woman is forbidden to be a barrister, but a man is allowed to be a cook. Such prohibitions imply the power of women to do these things.

Look at the laws—statute or judge-made—that affect women. They are a series of prohibitions, especially with regard to their work. Women are not to be barristers; they have very hardly won permission to be doctors. They are not to have the training necessary for most of the skilled professions; they are not to do the best-paid craftsmen's work. Such prohibitions, observe, imply the power of women to do these things. Laws are not made to forbid people to do things they cannot by nature do. There is no law, as has been pointed out, forbidding men without arms to become blacksmiths! Therefore it is assumed that women can do these things, but must not—have these powers given them, but must not develop them.

A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

Mrs. Russell Sage says:

“Women ought to have the ballot.”

Israel Zangwill says:

“We men require women suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.”

Judge Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile Court, says:

“We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundation of the Republic. We owe this more to woman suffrage than to any other one cause.”

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., LTD., 148, Holborn Bars.
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1910.

THE OPPONENTS ANSWERED.

In every Woman Suffrage debate, whether in the House of Commons or in other less exalted bodies, the Suffragist has come to expect that one enemy will rise up and destroy the other, that the arguments of one body of opponents will cancel those which another body brings forward. This phenomenon is easily explained. Most of our opponents are men of limited experience or limited vision, men of crude mind and immature thought. Such men, anxious to find justification for their unreasoning antagonism, seize upon the first excuse or evasion which their particular circumstance provides. Having so armed himself, each opponent goes forward to the fray hoping to destroy the women's claim, but managing only to destroy his brother opponent's argument and to expose his own deficiencies. It speaks eloquently of the immaturity of mind of the average opponent to Women's Suffrage that he can periodically repeat this performance in apparent unconsciousness of its farcical futility.

What has befallen in the debate of every Suffrage measure has befallen in turn the Conciliation Bill. Opponents, rising up to destroy the Bill, have destroyed each other. The Bill has been condemned because it did do what it didn't and because it didn't do what it did—because it would make some particular change, and, again, because it wouldn't. It has been rejected and supported for the same reason and for the same unreason. It has been asserted to be the worst Bill, and therefore impossible, and to be the best Bill, and therefore the most dangerous of all. It has been called democratic and anti-democratic, moderate and immoderate, retrogressive and revolutionary. It has been analysed to show that it would leave out all the right women and take in all the wrong ones. On the one hand it is rejected because it will perpetuate some of the present scandalous masculine electoral anomalies, and on the other hand it is deplored because it will cut across and endanger them. In brief, like all Suffrage measures, and like the Suffrage demand itself, it has stood unscathed while it appeared to be assailed from all sides, and its enemies have exposed and destroyed each other.

Let us take first the Radical charge that the Bill is anti-democratic. In plain English this word merely means "unfavourable to the Liberal party"; it has nothing to do with the real thing, democracy—bears no relation to it, has no connection with it. It is a word misused in the petty party interest. It is one of the political euphemisms. No Bill can be anti-democratic when it admits a hitherto unrepresented section of the people to the electorate. But it is especially ridiculous to apply such a term of condemnation to the Conciliation Bill, which has been so drafted as to secure a proportion of representation to all classes of the now excluded section and to give the greatest share of representation to the numerically greater class—the working women. This particular Bill is much more democratic than the present franchise exercised by men, inasmuch as it excludes all the purely property and class franchises which men do not scruple to employ. The only argument which could be brought forward to support this charge of anti-democracy was that the Bill permitted the manufacture of faggot votes for wives and daughters of rich men. The mere fact that the present franchises provide full facilities for such faggot votes being manufactured for sons, and that this has never been done to any appreciable extent by fathers, and that it would in all probability be done less for wives and daughters than for sons, is thrown aside, and upon the slender foundation left terrible prophecies are built up. This is a case of a mountain being made out of a mole-hill. But even this argument has been removed. The Conciliation Committee has agreed to insert a clause so amending the second

part of the Bill as to secure that husband and wife shall not vote in the same constituency.

Taking the party interpretation of the word "anti-democratic," the Bill cannot be proved to justify the charge. There is nothing in the history of the use of the Vote by the women municipal voters—the chief part of the new electorate—to justify the statement that they would support Conservative or Labour candidates in preference to Liberal ones. Like the men householders, the women are of every school of politics. The conclusion to which we are driven is, therefore, that the young Radical element in the Liberal party have in contemplation legislation to which they feel women as a body will be opposed. To those who think anything about the ethics of government this may provide additional reason why women should be at once enfranchised.

The opposition to the Conciliation Bill because of the particular women who will be enfranchised under it needs very little examination. We can all choose an ideal group of superior women who could make better use of electoral power than average women. We could all do the same in order to reform the present electorate of men. But the British Constitution is not based upon any recognition of the rights of the superman or of the superwoman—it is based upon the recognition of the rights of the common human being, and seeks to give representation not alone to the best, but to the ordinary, to the vulgar, even to the worst. One can imagine the straits of poor human nature as expressed in ordinary mortals if the "really superior" sort of people were given exclusive control of Government. All such schemes are visionary and impertinent. They demand the attainment of a standard of perfection to qualify for human rights, and they assume that the promoters of such schemes are competent to pass judgment upon the rest of humanity.

It is quite true that the women who will be enfranchised under this Bill are mainly householders, but one can be a householder and many other things. Indeed the majority of women householders have to be some other thing, and to be it to some effect, in order to manage to be householders at all. A large percentage of women householders go out into the labour market, and are employed in every grade of professional service. There are, as Mr. Churchill discovered in such timely fashion, women of ill-repute who are householders. But it has never yet been urged in the British House of Commons that all men of ill-repute should be debarred from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise, and one can imagine startling revelations if such a principle were put into practice. There are a far greater proportion of such men among men voters—if they have attained no higher legislative position—than could be brought in under this Bill as women electors. But, again, this fact is conveniently forgotten. It is a strange thing that the very men who fear that women's entrance into political life will bring an unhappy time upon the immoral man should themselves start the game by beginning the baiting of the immoral woman. But, taken in conjunction with the demand that all the wives of the country shall be immediately enfranchised, as wives, it becomes less surprising. The idea, evidently, is to divide women against themselves—the chosen, "moral," man-elevated wives on the one side, and the publicly dishonoured, "immoral," prostitutes on the other. But this game is too despicable to be further considered.

To those who tell us that the Bill is too big, and to those who tell us that the Bill is too little we have the same reply. We did not choose the size of the Bill, we say. The House chose it. The House says that the Bill is just the right size to pass; and the House is a good judge. We are prepared to stand by the verdict of the House. We demand that there shall be no further attempt to prevent that verdict from being given. With the House is the final decision; and the House is with us. Let all lesser bodies stand out of the way.

The enemy who cannot harm us by argument nor oppose us with reason is still capable of striving to postpone our victory by brute force and brute inertia. But against even this we must be ready. We must win; we must win now!

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BRANCH NOTES.

London Branches Council.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Hackney.

On Sunday a very good meeting was held in Victoria Park. Although the weather was not promising a good crowd gathered, and a great number stopped during the whole time of the speeches. The chair was taken by Miss Fleisig, who gave an account of the Suffrage movement from the very beginning—some fifty years ago—up to the present day, and also proved the shallowness of many of the "Anti" arguments. Mrs. Mustard followed with an appeal for the women and children, on which she feels so deeply. After giving an account of the Conciliation Bill she called upon the men to write to their Member and Mr. Asquith demanding Votes for Women at once, and to the women to join the League. Many questions were asked and satisfactorily answered by Mrs. Mustard. One woman in the crowd admirably assisted the speaker on one occasion when a man asked the old question of could women fight? by reminding him that during the South African War the Boer women came out and, shouldering a rifle, fought side by side with the men; and remarked that no doubt the women of England would do the same if called upon to help their country in this way. During the speeches a good sale took place of THE VOTE and other literature. The Suffrage Shop at 4, Clarence Road, continues to attract attention, and is proving very successful.—E. E. BUSBY.

Northern Heights and Tottenham.—Merok, Great North Rd., Highgate, N.

Open-air meetings were recommenced on Sunday, August 21st, when Miss Norris spoke and Mrs. Arklay took the chair. Miss Norris spoke on "Votes for Women from the Commonsense Point of View," and afterwards answered the questions in a very convincing manner. A collection was taken and THE VOTE sold. On Sunday, August 28th, Miss Dyer took the chair and Mr. John Simpson spoke. He took the Conciliation Bill as his subject, and afterwards answered questions on the same. A good collection was taken and about two dozen Votes were sold. Next Sunday we are again to have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Sproson, and Mr. Simpson has very kindly offered to act as chairman. It is hoped that members of both branches will turn up in full force.—ADA MITCHELL.

Hornsey.—8, Church Lane.

On Monday, August 22nd, Miss Pell, of Highbury, gave a very interesting and instructive address near Hornsey Fire

Station, dealing principally with the conditions of the Conciliation Bill. The audiences have not been quite so large these two weeks, owing probably to the holidays. A small collection was taken. Chairman, Mr. Hawkins. The Rev. C. Hinscliff has been unable to attend owing to indisposition and stress of parish work. We hope to have the pleasure of hearing him at a later date.—M. S. S.

Crystal Palace and Anerley District.—149, Croydon Road.

On Monday evening the rain came down with such determination that it seemed hopeless to attempt to hold our usual meeting. However, we determined to defy the elements. Seeing this, the rain obligingly gave way, but left the road very wet, so that our audience was obliged to stand some distance off on the pavement. In spite of all these disadvantages Miss E. Fennings spoke for some time, and several copies of THE VOTE were sold. As will be seen in another column, a local branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage has been formed, and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. French, 70, Mackenzie Road, Beckenham, will be glad to hear from any men wishing to join.—E. M. F.

Croydon.—9, Morland Avenue.

On Friday we had a smaller crowd than usual. The heavy storm on Thursday had unkindly washed away all our chalking, and evidently several of our usual sympathisers and opponents were away, as we failed to recognise many in the audience. However, we hope to reap the result of Mr. Malcolm Mitchell's and Mr. John Simpson's interesting speeches later on. A well-known resident seems to imagine that physical force rules the world, and having had the last word himself walked off without waiting to hear what we might have to say on it. Miss E. Fennings took the chair, and THE VOTE was sold and a collection taken. Next Friday we hope to have a member of the National Executive Committee, and we specially appeal to all our members to chalk in Thornton Heath, Selhurst, Woodside, &c., and to help in any way they can to get a larger audience than usual.—E. M. F.

Liverpool District.

Chester.—13, Abbey Square.

Chester members met on Friday and readily responded to Miss Manning's appeal for helpers in her Coast Campaign. It was arranged to hold an open-air meeting in the Market Square on Saturday, September 3rd, at 12 noon, when Mrs. Evans (Hon. Secretary Waterloo Branch) and Miss J. Heyes, of Manchester, will speak. The Secretary will be glad to receive offers of help from members or sympathisers in order that a good programme of work can be arranged for the winter.—E. WOODALL.

Amersham—Aylesbury.

Informal village meetings will be held in this district of Bucks between September 1st and 13th. Most of these places are away from the railway, therefore cycles are useful. It is hoped also to hold meetings in Amersham and Missenden. Anyone willing to help or desirous of help in their own plans should write to Miss K. RALEIGH, The Chestnut Cottage, Wendover, Bucks.

East Sussex.—Mrs. Dilks, 39, Milton Road, Eastbourne.

Eastbourne.—39, Milton Road.

Our holiday campaign is coming to a close. We were very sorry to say "Good-bye" to Miss Munro on Thursday. Her visit has done much to awaken sleepy Sussex, and we feel that much real good has been done for the Cause. Miss Guttridge has given most valuable assistance, and she has taken meetings on the Beach and at Old Town during the week. On Monday five of us went over to Bexhill to support Mrs. Despard, and on Thursday Miss Guttridge and Mrs. Dilks again went over to help with another meeting. Last week we sold fourteen dozen copies of THE VOTE. Our meeting at the Old Town was a great success, being much larger, quieter, and more orderly than on previous occasions. This week our activities will cease. We are hoping to see Mrs. Francis on Tuesday, and Miss Guttridge and Miss Catmen are going to hold meetings at Old Town and Hailsham, finishing up with a final one on the Beach on Saturday.—A. DILKS.

Bexhill.

Mrs. Despard paid us a visit on Monday, which was a huge success. Our thanks are due to the kind thoughtfulness of Mr. Loewe, who has taken a piece of waste ground close to the Kursaal for the purpose of holding meetings without fear of interruption from the police. We are also most grateful to Mrs. Strickland, who took an empty shop so that if weather prevented our outdoor meeting we should have a place of shelter. Rain came down in torrents, and the shop was full to overflowing, when Miss Munro addressed a big crowd outside. Mrs. Strickland introduced Mrs. Despard in a few well-chosen words. The audience gave a very hearty reception to our beloved President, who spoke with her usual eloquence. After she had been speaking for about half an hour word came that the rain had ceased and the crowd outside were wanting to hear Mrs. Despard. Everyone flocked with her, and in spite of damp grass we had a grand meeting and a splendid collection. As Mrs. Despard had to catch a train, Miss Munro took the questions, and was kept busy answering them for some time; and we sold a great deal of literature, &c. Mrs. Hicks kindly came down to speak for us on Thursday, when we again had an excellent meeting. Mrs. Dilks took the chair. Mrs. Strickland and the Rev. Wigley Griffith also spoke. We again had a good many questions, a fairly good collection, and we sold a fair amount of literature.—A. D.

Wales.—Mrs. Cleeves, Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glam.
Swansea.—Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glam.

Now the holidays are over we are going to resume work in this district. The first meeting will be held on Wednesday, September 7th, at 7 o'clock, at Chez Nous, Sketty, when I hope that every member will make a special effort to attend, as we shall be discussing our future plans, the Conference on October 29th, and the visit of the N.E.C. Much work has to be done before November, and we in Wales must not be lagging. During the visit of the N.E.C. to Swansea on October 1st to 3rd there will be some of the best-known members of the Freedom League present, chief of whom will be Mrs. Despard, who goes from here to take part in the Pageant at Middlesbrough; therefore we ought to take advantage of having such good speakers with us to hold as many meetings as possible here and in the surrounding district, and try in every way to forward the movement as much as possible in Wales. Our members voted very well on the whole at the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer went all wrong, and we must bear this in mind. Will all the Welsh branches communicate with me as soon as possible?—M. McLEOD CLEEVEs, Hon. Organiser.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

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Members are earnestly requested to do their utmost to get their collecting-boxes filled. Those who have not yet taken a box might kindly apply to Miss McArthur for one. Let each member do her best to bring grist to the mill!

CLYDE CAMPAIGN.—On Monday, August 22nd, we held an afternoon meeting in Troon, and followed up our work there by attempting to hold a meeting at Newton-on-Ayr in the evening. But the rowdy element in that place, assisted by the children, were determined that we should not do so, if a continuous chorus of yells and missiles of every description—delivered with more accuracy of aim than is usual—could prevent us. We continued the meeting till it became a physical impossibility to make our voices heard. I then closed the meeting by announcing that we should return and hold meetings till we did get a hearing. After that the fun began. We were jostled and pelted and rushed, the one policeman on duty standing very far off. If it had not been for the help of some men in the crowd and a brave girl who stood by us through it all the results might have been rather serious. In spite of all this, Mrs. Munn, whose pluck and coolness all through cannot be too highly praised, was able to sell about two dozen VOTES, as well as some badges, to sympathisers in the crowd.

The next night we again went to the same place, only to meet with still more vociferous opposition and more deftly directed missiles. But this time the crowd were determined to hear, and they, with the help of two policemen sent by the Superintendent of Police, insisted on order. So we were able to carry our meeting to a successful issue, closing with cheers for the speakers. We were escorted home by the whole crowd, the rowdy element being quite subdued by the majesty of the law and being compelled to disperse at once. Thus ended a meeting in rowdy Newton, in spite of dismal prognostications and woeful shakings of the head at our temerity, with victory for our cause.

On Wednesday we held a quiet and orderly meeting at Prestwick Cross, where the audience listened with interest to our arguments; and on Thursday I went to Kilmarnock, where the members of that Branch had extensively advertised an open-air meeting. Unfortunately, the weather, which had been very unfavourable to us all the week, proved extremely so on this occasion, for we had to hold our meeting in a downpour of rain. Nevertheless, we were able to sell a number of VOTES and take up a small collection. The members of the Kilmarnock Branch turned up well in spite of the weather, and one member, Miss Hamilton, made her maiden speech from the chair. On Saturday we held a meeting in Ayr, and in spite of the wind and rain a crowd gathered round our pitch. Miss Steven came from Glasgow, and, as well as presiding over the meeting, helped Miss Gibson and Mrs. Munn with the sales of literature and VOTES. During this week Miss Betty Miller has also proved of great help in this way, as well as taking the chair at several meetings.—MADGE TURNER, Organiser.

SUFFRAGE SHEARINGS.

Women's Convoy Corps.

Speaking to a Press representative, Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, who has formed the Sick and Wounded Convoy Corps, recently in camp at Elstree, said:—"I founded the Corps because I feel that nowadays there is a real need for some such outlet for the activities of women of the leisured classes. What can they do? All the things that women used to do for themselves—the making of clothes for the household and the like—are done to-day much cheaper by machinery. And there is need for work of this sort.

It is one of the arguments which have been used against women having the Vote that they are unfitted to take part in the defence of the country, and we at least are trying to show that that reproach is not true. It is womanly work, too. My aim is that the training shall be such that every woman shall be the better for it, even if war does not break out."

Dr. Shaw on W. F. L. Umbrellas.

To an American reporter Dr. Anna Shaw, President of the National Suffrage Association, gave her views on English Suffragists, and declared her admiration for our methods of advertisement by umbrella. "It is a joy," she said, "to see those Englishwomen working for the Cause. It did me good to walk along the street and watch those fine young women, many of them college graduates, carrying Suffrage signs up and down the crowded thoroughfares. Some of them carried signs like our sandwich men here, but the more attractive ones, I thought, were the pretty girls who walked up and down carrying large black umbrellas. On the umbrellas were painted, in white and yellow, 'Votes for Women' or the English Suffrage mottoes which they carry on their banners. Now how many girls could you find in New York, or in the country for that matter, who would be willing to walk up and down the street carrying Suffrage umbrellas?"

Clerks' Minimum Wage.

At a recent meeting in Hyde Park a resolution was carried endorsing the programme of the National Union, namely, a minimum wage of 35s. per week for clerks, male or female, on reaching the age of twenty-one, in London and the large provincial towns, and the inclusion of clerks in the term "workmen" in the fair wages clause of all further contracts. Mr. Herbert H. Elvin, the general secretary, said what drove clerks to suicide was the constant, bitter struggle against genteel poverty.

Mr. Roosevelt on Woman's Welfare.

At Utica, New York State, Mr. Roosevelt went out last week on the stump, commencing his campaign. The American Nimrod referred to the fact that in the past every civilisation had tended to decay, and there were ugly signs that this tendency was at work in the American nation. The problem consisted in the growth of the city at the expense of the country. The career of the farmer and the farm labourer should be made as attractive and remunerative as corresponding careers in the city, and the farmer must make country life interesting for himself and his family. Above all, the conditions of farm life must always be shaped with a view to the welfare of the farmer's wife and the farm labourer's wife. The welfare of the woman was even more important than the welfare of the man, for the mother was the real Atlas who bore aloft in her strong and tender arms the destiny of the world.

The Midwives Bill.

Writing to the Press concerning the hardships which poor women will suffer under the new Midwives Bill passed by the House of Lords, to be sent to the Commons for consideration, Mrs. Sidney Webb says:—"Now the Bill which the House of Lords passed proposes by Clause 1 to put it upon the Board of Guardians instead of the Town Council in all cases to pay the doctor's fee out of the Poor Rate, although the payment has admittedly nothing to do with parochial relief and is expressly declared to be not parochial relief. At the same time the unfortunate woman and her husband are, for the first time, to be made liable to repay whatever fee the Board of Guardians under L.G.B. regulations chooses to pay the doctor. Here are two separate and distinct hardships to be inflicted on thousands of thrifty and hard-working women and their families, just in their hour of need. The first hardship is the importation into the matter of the machinery of the Poor Law instead of that of the public health authority. . . . The second hardship is the new financial burden which the Bill, for the first time, places on these unfortunate families. I see no reason why, when the State insists on the medical man being called in on public health grounds, any repayment of the fee should be insisted on; and it is a distinct grievance that the liability will be not to pay the modest fee which the doctor would have charged to the poor patient herself, but the one or two guineas which (quite rightly) the L.G.B. will fix as the sum that the doctor may charge to the public authority."

Jumble Sale at Hayes End.

Hayes Suffragettes are hard at work preparing for a Jumble Sale, to be held, by kind permission of Mrs. Cunningham, in the barn at Oakdene. After selling, gramophone solos will be given in the garden, and Suffrage speeches have also been arranged for. Addresses of all municipal voters will be taken and special attention accorded them, and members hope for a thorough success.

Brentford and Southend.

Mrs. Cunningham took on a meeting at Brentford on Saturday night, near the market-place. The crowd was not particularly intelligent, nor well-informed, nor sober, and much resented the idea of Votes for Women. Meetings should be held in this locality.

A most successful meeting was also held by Mrs. Cunningham near the Technical Schools, Southend, on Thursday last. A most interested crowd gathered, and several declared themselves converted. There is room for several Suffrage workers here, both on the Parade and by the Schools. Meetings could be constantly held.—M. C.

THE WOMAN OF THE NOVELISTS.

By FORD MADDOX HUEFFER.

(Continued from last week—page 214.)

AN OPEN LETTER TO —.

MY DEAR MRS. —,

The Fair Sex! Do not these two words bring to mind the greatest of all misogynists—Arthur Schopenhauer? For, says he, that we should call the narrow-chested, broad-hipped, short-legged, small-waisted, low-browed, light-brained tribe, the Fair Sex, is that not a proof of the Christo-Germanic stupidity from which all we Teutons suffer?

I wonder how many of you have read Schopenhauer's "Über die Weiber"? If you have not you should certainly do so. It is an indictment of what—owing to various causes—women may sink to. It is, of course, exaggerated; but it is savagely witty to a degree. (And, if it enrage you, go on to read the other monograph in "Parerga and Paralipomena," in which Schopenhauer attacks carters who crack whips. "Über Lärm und Geräusch" it is called. There you will see that what Schopenhauer attacks—along with one type of woman—is the middling sorts of men.)

The one type of woman that he attacks—the garrulous, light-headed, feather-brained type that he says includes all womankind—this one type was drawn from the one woman from whom Schopenhauer really suffered. Schopenhauer was—his pasquinades apart—a mystic and dogged thinker, and the thinker is apt to consider that existence is the all-important thing in this world, and that the disturber of existence is the greatest of criminals.

The one woman from whom he suffered was his mother. All other women he stalled off; his mother he could not. And Johanna Schopenhauer was what you might call a terror.

To begin with, for a considerable portion of Schopenhauer's life, she held the purse-strings. She was an indomitable, garrulous creature. (Need I say more than that she was one of the most successful women novelists of her day.) She had the power to approach Schopenhauer at all times; to talk to him incessantly; to reproach this ready and lofty thinker with his want of success as a writer; to recommend him to follow her example and become a successful novelist.

So that, actually, it was his mother's type that he was attacking when he thought—or pretended to think—that he was attacking all womankind. And that, upon the whole, is what has happened to most of the few writers who have systematically attacked women. I do not think, as I have said, that there are many of these, but some have had rather narrow escapes. There was, for instance, Gustave Flaubert.

Flaubert was several times pressed to marry, but he always refused, and he gave his reason that "Elle pourrait entrer dans mon cabinet" (She might come into my study). From this you will observe that he found just such another woman as was Johanna Schopenhauer. And indeed it was just such another—the lady he called La Muse—that he found. The Muse was the only woman with whom he came really into contact, and she was a popular novelist, a writer of feuilletons and of fashion pages, an incessant chatterer. She was no doubt a sufficiently attractive woman to tempt Flaubert towards a close union. But his own wisdom, and the fact that she plagued him incessantly to read her manuscript, let him save himself with a whole skin. He was not minded to give her the right—or, at any rate, the power—to come into his study.

If he had done so—who knows?—under the incessant stimulus of her presence he might have joined the small band of writers who have been woman-haters.

As it is he was not so much a misogynist—a hater of his kind—as a lover of what is shipshape. And this, seeing how badly—how stupidly—the affairs of this world are governed, this loving the shipshape rendered him perpetually on the look-out for the imbecilities of poor humanity.

If he was hard upon women, he was harder, without

doubt, upon men. Mme. Bovary is idle, silly, hyper-romantic, unprincipled, mendacious; but she is upon the whole more true to her poor little lights than most of the male characters of the book, than Homais the Quack, than her two lovers, and she is less imbecile than her husband. And, indeed, the most attractive and, upon the whole, the wisest in the conduct of life and in human contacts that Flaubert ever drew is Mme. Arnoux in "L'Education Sentimentale." She is nearly a perfect being, recognising her limitations and fulfilling her functions. I do not think that Flaubert drew more than one other such—the inimitable Félicité, the patient household drudge, in the "Cœur Simple." Bouvard and Pécuchet are lovable buffoons or optimists, brave and impracticable adventurers into the realms of all knowledge; these two dear men are one or the other as you look at them. Flaubert drew them lovingly, but I am not certain that he loved them, whereas it is impossible to doubt that he loved Mme. Arnoux, the lady and Félicité of the Simple Soul. He drew each of them as being efficient, and since he drew two efficient women, and no efficient man at all, we may consider him to have given us the moral that, in an imbecile world, as he saw it, woman had a better chance than man.

I am not quite certain whether I regard Flaubert or Turgenev as having been the greatest novelist the world ever produced. If I introduce a third name—that of Shakespeare—I grow a little more certain. For I should hesitate to say that Flaubert was a greater than Shakespeare; in fact, I am sure I should not say it, but I am pretty certain that Turgenev was.

His personality was more attractive than Flaubert's—his literary personality I mean—and his characters are more human than Shakespeare's were. So I would give the palm of the supreme writer to Turgenev, and so, I fancy, would every woman if she were wise. For Turgenev was a great lover—a great champion of women. He was a great lover—a great champion, too, we may say—of humanity. Where Flaubert saw only that humanity was imbecile, Turgenev, kindlier and more sympathetic, saw generally that men were gullible and ineffectual angels. And it is significant that all the active characters—all the persons of action—in Turgenev's novels are women. There is just one man of action—of mental and political action—in all Turgenev's works, and that man, Solomin, the workman agitator, is the one great failure of all Turgenev's projections. He is wooden and unconvincing, an abstractly invented and conventional figure.

And this preponderance of the Fair Sex in Turgenev's action does not come about because Turgenev was a champion of women: it arises simply because of the facts of Russian life as Turgenev saw them (and let me offer you as an argument when you are most confounded with the dogma that women never *did* anything political, the cases of Russia and Poland. For, when the history of the Russian Revolution comes to be written, it will be seen that an enormous proportion of the practical organising work of the revolution was done by women, the comparatively ineffectual theorising has been, in the main, the work of men. As for Poland, the Polish national spirit has been kept alive almost solely by the women).

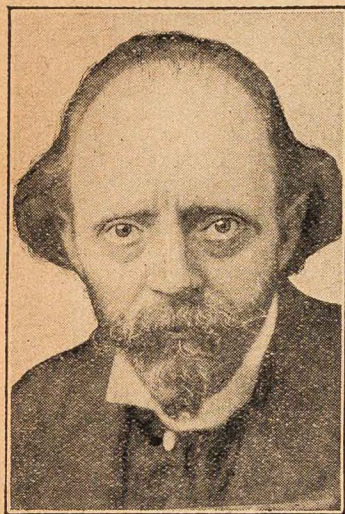
So with Turgenev; if you take such a novel as "The House of Gentlefolk," you will find that it is Lisa who is the active character, taking a certain course which she considers as course of duty and persevering in it. Her lover, Lavretsky, on the other hand, is an ineffectual being, resigned, if you will, but resigned to the action of destiny. And, roughly speaking, this is the case with all Turgenev's characters. It is Bazárov the Nihilist who is in the hands of the woman he loves; it is only in the physical activities of the peasants that the man takes the upper hand.

But Turgenev, if he was a great lover of women, did not idealise them. We love Lisa with a great affection: she might be our patient but inflexible sister; we love her and believe in her because she is the creation of a patient and scrupulous hand.

(To be continued.)

"THE ETERNAL QUESTION."

(Adapted from "The Eternal City," by Hall Caine. Garrick Theatre, every evening, at 8.)



MR. HALL CAINE
(Author of "The Eternal Question.")

If by the eternal question Mr. Hall Caine means, as we believe he does, the eternal problem of sex with the dual standard of morality which—with the exception of one brief episode, when the Greatest of Men bade only those of the self-appointed male judges stone the woman who themselves were free from guilt—has existed since pre-Biblical times, he neither asks it nor answers it—he merely begs it. "The Eternal Question," as it was seen at the Garrick by Saturday night's audience, is a play of splendid curtains, of fierce emotions, of swift action; in a word, a masterpiece of stagecraft, hampered with unexpected opinions formulated in dialogue on unsuitable occasions which barely escaped irritating the audience. Only Mr. Hall Caine could have risked these rodomontades, and only Mr. Hall Caine's nice and subtle knowledge of how much preaching the public will stand could have evoked a frenzy of bravoos from a British audience—that curious phenomenon which, like a jury, though possibly individually cruel and illogical, is *en masse* moral and righteous.

What problem does Mr. Hall Caine ask us to solve? Presumably, as the pre-production interviews with the author would suggest, it is whether there is one man for one woman, while there may be many women for a man. But in reality this question never arises at all, for Mr. Hall Caine creates a situation which is certainly not that of the typical "fallen" woman. He lays before us the episode of a woman sculptor—Donna Roma—who is presumably able at her art, inasmuch as she has in course of production a public fountain, living under the protection of the Prime Minister of Italy, Baron Bonelli. The Baron, in a scene which while it had tense moments left us cold, tells the lady, who has just confessed to him that she has fallen in love with David Rossi, exactly how the world regards a woman who lives under a man's protection. He tells her in language which is straight and to the point that a woman in her position has reached a "blind alley," and her only hope of security is to remain true to her protector. Donna Roma, taking her cue from the bad Baron, gives a graphic description of the way "decent" married women turn from her. The pity of it was that all through the early acts we were told many unnecessary things, while many necessary things were left unsaid. We were not informed if the bad Baron had a wife. If the Baron had had a wife then Mr. Hall Caine's query as to whether there were many women for a man but only one man for a woman might have been asked. But it was not; neither did we see the respectable married women turning from Donna Roma—we only heard that they did, and that in a speech ending with shrieks. Now the woman artist who is presumably sufficiently important in her profession to undertake works of a public character in a city where the public sense of art is somewhat higher than it is in the British Isles, even though she may have been wronged by a man and be living under his protection, is in a very different position to that of the ordinary "kept" woman. Much is forgiven to art, and respectable married women of the draw-the-skirts-aside variety are not the people who have any voice in the ordering of

public fountains. Donna Roma, then, is not by any means the woman who is the greatest sufferer in the ordinary everyday world of sex-tragedies. To a woman with an occupation love is—as it is with a man—an incident, and not a business, and the pretty names of "trull," "harlot," and "prostitute" which the Baron throws at Donna Roma, inasmuch as we infer that she has never lived under anyone else's protection, can only be Mr. Hall Caine's view of what a jealous man who finds his mistress's affections have strayed would use, and should not have unnerved the lady. They may be the insults which the woman whose sole occupation is love may expect, but used as they were they spoiled the effect of the scene without being in the least convincing.

Then, again, young David Rossi is an exceedingly tiresome young man—own brother to John Storm—and is by way of being a Christian socialist, but, judging from what we see of him, he is a demagogue who has ill-digested Giuseppe Mazzini. His quarrel with the lady was not, in the first instance, her past, but the fact that she has betrayed him to the Government. True, he shoots (and kills) the Baron when the latter insults Donna Roma, but this he subsequently says was an accident. The lady takes the guilt of the murder upon herself, but with an eye to post-mortem glory, for she tells the demagogue when he visits her in prison that the people when they hear that she has taken the guilt upon herself will forget that she first betrayed him. To give colour to the betrayal of Rossi the Holy Father, with some pomp, was introduced. We confess to a feeling of resentment when, for the purposes of stagecraft, the Sovereign Pontiff is made to look a silly ass. Shakespeare would not have done it. He was a democrat in the matter of kings and cardinals, but he left the Pope alone. But the people loved it, and as the gaunt and reverend gentleman tottered off they applauded wildly—and the more he tottered the more they applauded.

The most outstanding character in the piece was the bad Baron (Mr. Guy Standing), and we must confess that from his discreetly used eye-glass to his adroit patent boots he was a finer and more convincing character than any other before the Garrick limelights. Every tear that was shed—and sometimes the sobs of our neighbours made the atmosphere humid—was due to his exertions, and when he fell at the hand of Rossi—well hated and well hissed—we felt a distinct feeling of sorrow, which was somewhat relieved when, with his boiled shirt slightly crumpled, he came in front to make his bow. Miss Tittell-Brune as Donna Roma rose to great heights in the death scene, and though she would have aroused much more sympathy if she had not screamed quite so much during the previous scenes, her yells at the sight of the Baron's corpse were certainly justified.

Some short time ago we asked Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley why she had never dealt with the woman question in any of her plays, and she answered that in a play only one phase could be touched—one of the little flies in the ointment which subsequent legislation might remove—and for that reason she did not deal with such a vast subject. Her wisdom is shown in Mr. Hall Caine's attempt. Anyone who goes to the Garrick Theatre expecting to find a wide or wise treatment of a burning question will be disappointed. Nothing is asked or answered, but instead is provided—with a good dash of "tract" and a spoonful of Bax, Lassalle, and Mazzini—an excellent melodrama, worthy of the great Manxman's knowledge of the way to the B.P.'s tear-ducts. Not even the loud cries of "All Kyne" and "Hall Caine" (according to the amount his admirers had paid for their seats) which greeted every curtain-fall could make us think otherwise. As we left the theatre, amongst the crowd hastening for the last bus was a tearful lady who asked her lord what the "Eternal Question" was. He, mindful of the last act, where, in the glow of the lime-light, Rossi (who has entered Roma's cell disguised as a monk) is seen holding Donna Roma's hand as they go forth to trial, answered "Wich of them is 'ung, silly." And that to most people was the only vital question of the play.

M. O. KENNEDY.

MAXIMS OF LIFE AND GOVERNMENT.

MAXIMS OF LIFE AND GOVERNMENT. By Marshall Bruce-Williams. (Chapman and Hall. 1s.)

There is nothing harder to formulate than maxims of government or of life which will escape being either cynical or trite, but Mr. Bruce-Williams has succeeded as far as success is possible, and the brevity of his book may be due to the fact that he felt himself growing either trite or cynical—and stopped! Though to Rochefoucauld his debt is evident, it is light, and his "When you enter the room with your enemy, give him the entry; the room is the test," is worth remembering. Its eternal application saves it from being sententious.

Here are a few maxims taken at random from the little volume:

"Politicians accentuate, statesmen alone can relieve, the tension caused by the existence of vast inequalities of wealth and poverty in a State."

"Man is first an individual, then a group man, then a local man, then a national man, then a race man, then a member of humanity. To try and live in the last stage, as modern humanitarians do, is not so unlike trying to lift yourself by your own boot-straps."

"Statesmanship is the application to affairs of the knowledge possessed by society. The problems before modern statesmen are nothing less than the determination of the preliminary lines of order on which a planet civilisation can rest."

Some of Mr. Bruce-Williams's sayings on reform and revolution are particularly suitable to the time and to the demand made for reform by many parties in the State—notably ourselves.

"A violent revolution only occurs when the constitutional authorities fail to read the signs of the times."

"In reform, as elsewhere, the curve is often the shortest line."

"When all parties desire reforms, it is a great assistance if one demands revolution."

With his statement that "revolutions are always misfortunes" we cannot agree, for there are silent revolutions where the misfortune is only for those who refuse to realise that it is taking place. Revolution only comes when obstructionists refuse to realise that revolution is doing its duty, and when it does come it does its work of clearing the way for Progress so swiftly that it sometimes gets in front of it. When he says "Reform is a business, and must be prosecuted as a business" we can only agree with him, and wish that he could enforce the principle; for reform is alternately treated by politicians as a party cry, a religion, or a hobby.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

MADAM,—Whether the majority of women do or do not want the Vote, it is only the men who can get it for them. As we already have a large majority in favour in the House of Commons, which is supposed to represent the people, then we may naturally conclude that the majority of the electorate are also in favour. It only remains for the men of the country to show their representatives that they do not intend any longer that their wishes should be set at naught by one man, viz., Mr. Asquith. In the circumstances it is surely most necessary that all men in favour should belong to either the Men's League for Women's Suffrage or the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. To obtain this every branch of any Women's Suffrage Society should help to form a local branch of one of the above. It is quite easy to do, as at the present time there are numbers of men who are ready to help in a small way if they are only approached. I speak from experience, as only two weeks ago there seemed no chance of such a League in our neighbourhood; but the idea having been given me by a man sympathiser, I thought over all those I decided might join and invited them to a meeting, the result being that a local branch of the Men's League has been formed with about fourteen members and a very promising outlook. I shall be pleased to give any hints to others who may want to do the same.—Yours, etc.,

ETHEL M. FENNINGS.

149, Croydon Road, Anerley, S.E.

HOW WOMEN WORK.

The Chainmakers of Cradley Heath.

The following graphic description of the work of the women at Cradley Heath is taken from a contemporary at no time kind to the arguments of feminism, and for this reason we give it. The heading in the *Daily Express* was "Women Who Work Harder than Men."

"This afternoon," says the pressman, "I have been watching some of the work for which these supercilious chainmakers refuse to accept less than twopence halfpenny an hour. In all England you will find nothing to beat the sheer sordid squalor of Cradley Heath. In its slums practically every house has its chain-shop, with forge and bellows, wherein men, women, and children toil feverishly forging chains."

"I went into one of these, where a woman was turning rods of iron into plough-chains at the rate of 7s. 6d. per hundredweight. A baby hung in an improvised cradle from the ceiling, and two other children, sickly and stunted, sat on a heap of cinders on the floor."

"The chainmaker, without stopping her work for an instant, contrived to keep an eye on her children and to answer the questions I put to her."

"By working ten or eleven hours a day she could make about eight shillings a week, but out of that she had to pay two shillings and sometimes half a crown for fuel, or, as she called it, 'breeze.' Then she had to pay sixpence a week in rent for the forge, which was not her own. Altogether it was rarely that she cleared five shillings and sixpence a week."

"She began work at seven in the morning, taking an hour for dinner and half an hour each for breakfast and tea, and never knocked off until after seven."

"All the time she was talking she went on busily with her work, heating the iron red-hot, bending it into the shape of a staple with two or three quick hammer-strokes, and then, having cut off the staple and passed it through the last-made link of the chain, hammering the two glowing ends together."

"Sweat poured from her face and arms as she laboured. Her hands and arms were covered with burns from flying sparks. Occasionally she would straighten herself, gasping for a fraction of a second to let a little air into her congested lungs."

"I asked her why she did it. 'To pass the time and keep myself warm.' She laughed bitterly, and added more seriously, pointing to the children, 'I've 'em to keep and feed somehow, ye know.'"

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Men's League (Anerley Branch).

Thanks to the vigorous efforts and kind hospitality of Miss E. Fennings, a meeting of male sympathisers was held at Anerley on August 23rd. Several men had expressed their willingness to help, and it was with the idea of crystallising these sentiments into some practical idea that the meeting was held. After some discussion it was decided to form a branch of the Men's League, to be called the Norwood Branch, and a Committee was formed to carry out the necessary arrangements. The possibility of an anti-Government election policy being adopted by the League at the special general meeting on September 23rd was discussed, and a resolution approving of such a policy was passed. Certain keen Liberals voted against this, but finding they were in the minority, agreed to sink their personal feelings and stand loyally by the League in whatever policy should be deemed most expedient by the majority for furthering the best interests of the movement. Norwood is a notoriously "Anti" stronghold, and if the new branch is to do effective work all in sympathy must bear a hand, and Mr. R. French, 70, Mackenzie Road, Beckenham, who is acting as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, will be glad to receive the names of intending members or donations to the general fund. Members will be prepared to assist all societies in any way which may be suggested, and will welcome any advice or assistance which may be offered. I shall be glad to receive the names and addresses of any gentlemen who will help me to form a branch covering Highgate, Crouch End, Hornsey, Hampstead, Highbury, Islington, and Finchley.—JOHN SIMPSON.

Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, President United Society of Christian Endeavour, says:—

"As I have seen the operation of woman suffrage in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened."

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



- Wed., August 31.**—Clapton Common, corner of Oldhill Street, 8 p.m. Mr. Malcolm Mitchell.
- Thurs., September 1.**—London Branches Council, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, 6.45.
Highbury Corner, 8. Miss Neilans.
Finchley, Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner. Miss Coyle.
Acton Market Place, 8 p.m. Mr. John Simpson.
- Fri., September 2.**—South Norwood Clock Tower, 8 p.m. Mrs. Schofield Coates.
- Sat., September 3.**—1, Robert Street, Adelphi. National Executive Committee, 11 a.m.
- Sun., September 4.**—Finsbury Park, 11.30. Mrs. Sproson and Mr. Simpson.
Regent's Park, 12. Miss Morgan Browne.
Victoria Park, 3. Mrs. Sproson.
Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, 8 p.m.
- Mon., September 5.**—Hornsey Fire Station, 8. Mrs. Sproson.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, 7.30. Central Branch Meeting. Important business.
- Tues., September 6.**—Highbury Corner, 8.
- Thurs., September 8.**—Highbury Corner, 8.
Finchley, Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner, 8. Miss Neilans.
Acton Market Place, 8.
- Fri., September 9.**—South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Mr. John Simpson.
- Sun., September 11.**—Finsbury Park, 11.30.
Regent's Park, 12. Mrs. Hicks.
Victoria Park, 3. Mrs. Mustard.
- Sat., September 24.**—Beckenham Public Hall. The Pageant. At 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Tickets, 5s. (reserved) and 2s. 6d. (unreserved), may be obtained from W.F.L. Office and from Mrs. Harvey, Bracken Hill, Highland Road, Bromley, Kent.
- PROVINCES.**
- Portsmouth.**
Fri., September 2.—St. Mary's Road. Mrs. Whetton.
Wed., September 7.—Gosport. Mrs. Whetton.
- Eastbourne.**
Sat., September 3.—On the Beach, west of the Eastern Bandstand, 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss Guttridge.
- Bournemouth.**
Sat., September 10.—St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, 8 p.m. Mary Wollstonecraft Commemoration. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. H. W. Nevinson. Tickets, 2s., 1s., 6d., from W.F.L. Office, or from Bright's Stores, Bournemouth.
- Swansea.**
- WALES.**
Wed., September 7.—Chez Nous, Sketty, 7 p.m.

ELEPHANTINE RULE.

The wisest rulers are the men
Who first learn to obey;
Who bow with humble readiness
Beneath the grander sway.
The woman's long obedience
To man's controlling power
Should prove a great convenience
In this, her coming hour.

For none deny that man has shown
Most rare ability
To teach the women round his throne
Divine docility,
Recalling to their feeble wills
The pleasures of a lowly seat
On footstools placed at intervals
Beneath his glorious feet.

O, sister, is it vanity,
The love of ease and grace,
Or delicate insanity
Which makes you love that place?
Or elegant inaction,
Incipient disease
Futile dissatisfaction,
Which ends by saying "Please"!

Too long, too long have you enjoyed
The lonely learner's stool.
Too long has chivalry employed
Its elephantine rule.

We do perceive a dreariness
Upon its dying face;
We seem to catch a weariness
Among the ruling race.

Too much responsibility
Has worn man to a shred,
Now woman's capability
Must go to work instead.
The Lion—man—must have a rest
From laying down the laws—
His tired head upon his breast,
His nose between his paws. J. HEARNE.

Magistrate: "Have you any visible means of support?"
Prisoner: "Yes, yer wushup." (To his wife, a laundress):
"Hemmar, stand up so's the court can see yer."—*Throne and Country.*

"It is becoming daily more and more difficult for women to marry. I do not undervalue the work of women as wives and mothers. I admit that for many women—perhaps for most—the home is the proper sphere. But many women have to do some work, make some contribution to the family income even when they are married; and even those more fortunately placed do not find that the house and the children take up all the time."—*MADAME REJANE.*

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