

THE VOTE.
AUGUST 24, 1917.
ONE PENNY.

That "Sense of Justice."

C. NINA BOYLE.

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 24, 1917

Edited by C. DESPARD.

OBJECT: 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.

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THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

Small doubtless it may appear to the mighty persons who are engaged in their patriotic labours at Westminster; so small and insignificant that in the resolution ordering it to be done the language is studiously vague. Merely that a sum not exceeding £5 be granted to His Majesty to defray the charge for expenditure in respect of Houses of Parliament Buildings.

Statement in explanation was made by Mr. Bonar Law. "The vote," he said, "is for the Ladies' Grille," adding "that the resolution is put down in expectation that there will be no debate."

And there was not. By 164 to 18 the motion was passed.

We, to whom the matter is not small, but emblematic of much that has happened in the past, and that will happen in the future, wonder if there will be any ceremony about the removal, or if it will merely pass without observation, as other signs and symbols have done. Let us remember when the symbol passes the reality it has represented is bound to follow.

One other idea comes to us as, in imagination, we see the workmen taking out screws and carrying the obnoxious thing away. Shelley spoke of it as the cumulative power of thought. "Flake after flake in heaven-defying minds." Even in the dim world of the mid-Victorian era there were girls, of a somewhat more independent turn of mind than the others, to whom sitting behind a grille to hear men talk and see them vote was an inexplicable humiliation. They did nothing, but they thought hard, and some of

them, long since gone out from us, had dreams of destroying not only the Ladies' Grille, but the things it stood for. These thoughts increased, became diffused, strengthened, till at last, even within the sacred precincts of the House of Commons, man found himself face to face with woman, and to his surprise found her unafraid. Nine years ago this is what happened. We quote from Mrs. Margaret Nevinston in her pamphlet "Five Years' Struggle for Freedom":—

"At the end of the month (October, 1908) some members of the Women's Freedom League made a protest in the House of Commons. An extra dull debate was going on when suddenly the bored audience was electrified at hearing a woman's voice, clear and very earnest, from the gilded cage, calling upon the Legislature to give justice and freedom to women. Officials and reporters rushed breathlessly up the stairs, and the former, after attempting to drag away by force Miss Muriel Matters and Miss Helen Fox, who had chained themselves to the Grille, were obliged to cut down the barrier; and the two protestants, with about twenty square feet of grating attached to them, were conducted to one of the committee rooms, where the chain was sawn through. Subsequently Miss Matters and fourteen other women were arrested and sentenced to fines of £5 or one month's imprisonment in the third division."

A brave beginning; but, as the women who played their part boldly then knew, *only* a beginning. The end is not yet.

C. DESPARD.

THE "GRILLE" DIVISION.

The House of Commons affords continuous surprises to those who watch its doings, but the way in which it has determined to spend £5 over removing the Grille is one of the most astonishing and unexpected. Women, who have for many years felt the indignity of being behind bars, in purdah-like seclusion, added to extreme discomfort, have for a considerable time left the matter severely alone. There has been no strong protest, no petition for removal, no deputation, no action of any kind on their part. Suddenly, unexpectedly, early in May the subject came up under a "Supply" vote. Hon. Members spent most of the time in recalling historical facts, and in pointing out that the existence of the Grille was, to quote one of them, "a very discreditable anachronism, an indignity unworthy of the democracy of the present day." The opponents of the change made a very poor show, and, as a result of the debate, an unobtrusive notice appeared on the Order Paper, in the name of the First Commissioner of Works (Sir Alfred Mond), that the House would be asked to vote £5 for the removal of the Grille in front of the Ladies' Gallery. That was the position till August 15, when the deed was done. There were no speeches on the subject; in fact, the Leader of the House intimated it was only on the expectation that there would be no debate that the vote would be taken. The official record of the proceedings will be of interest. It appears in the "Parliamentary Debates," Vol. 97, No. 117, August 15, 1917, as follows:

Supply.—CIVIL SERVICE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1917-18. Considered in Committee. (Mr. Whitley in the Chair.)

Houses of Parliament Buildings.—Class I.

Motion made, and Question put, "That a supplementary sum, not exceeding £5, be granted to His Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1918, for Expenditure in respect of Houses of Parliament Buildings."

The Committee divided: Ayes, 164; Noes, 18.

Colonel Yate, who is a determined opponent of Woman Suffrage, demanded a division, and securing Mr. Basil Peto to assist him as Teller, found only 18 Members to record their vote against the motion. The 20 "Grillers," including the Tellers, were:—

Sir James Tynte Agg-Gardner, Lieut. E. M. Archdale, Reginald Blair, William Burdett-Coutts, Rt. Hon. Evelyn Cecil, Sir Clifford John Cory, Arthur Fell, Rt. Hon. W. Hayes Fisher, Colonel George Abraham Gibbs, Robert Paterson Houston, Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, William Arthur Lindsay, Sir John Brownlee Lonsdale, James Ian Macpherson, De Fonblanque Pennefather, Colonel E. Pryce-Jones, Sir J. D. Rees, Lieut.-Colonel Sir C. H. Seely. Tellers for the Noes: Mr. Peto, Colonel Yate.

The result was received with laughter and cheers, and a Parliamentary recorder observes: "I imagine they (the minority of 20) are M.P.s who are not seeking re-election under the new Franchise Bill, when women electors would surely, as an Irish Member put it, vote against them as one man!"

A proposal to remove the Grille was made in 1869 but was negated, and in 1885 Mr. Sydney Buxton pressed a resolution to a division, but the Grille won by 121 votes to 75. The division of August 15, showing so large a majority in favour of its removal, indicates a marked change of attitude due to the inevitable coming of woman suffrage and of women as Members of Parliament. Women have seen with indignation the lamentable waste of the nation's money during the war; but the cost of removing the Grille cannot be considered excessive. It is cheap at the price.

Now is the opportunity for carrying out the recommendation of a Select Committee in 1908 that there should be a common gallery for men and women.

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.

LONDON AND SUBURBS

Friday, August 31.—Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. Dinner to Miss Boyle, 7 p.m. Tickets 2s. each, which must be obtained beforehand from Mrs. Fisher. Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard, Miss Boyle, Miss Anna Munro, Miss Eunice Murray, Mrs. Schofield Coates, and others.

Sunday, September 2.—Hyde Park, noon. Speaker: Miss Eunice G. Murray. Brockwell Park, 3.30 p.m.

Sunday, September 9.—Hyde Park, 12 noon. Speaker: Miss Dorothy Evans.

Saturday, September 15.—Political Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3 p.m. Speakers: Miss Boyle and others.

Wednesday, September 19.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Laurence Housman, on "Prison Reform in America," and Miss Nina Boyle. Admission free. Tea can be obtained in the Café.

Sunday, September 23.—Lecture by Miss C. Nina Boyle, "A Modern View of Ancient Macedon" (in aid of the Despard Arms), Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3.30 p.m. Tickets, 1s. Tea after lecture, 8d.

Wednesday, September 26.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Margaret Hodge, on "W. T. Stead and His Work for the Woman's Cause," and Miss Nina Boyle.

Wednesday, October 3.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. M. W. Nevinson, L.L.A., on "The Prospects of Success." Chair: Mrs. Nourse.

Sunday, October 7.—Discussion Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn. Mr. W. L. George, on "Will the position of married women be enhanced or diminished by the War?" Tea, 6d., 4 till 4.30 p.m. Lecture, 4.30 till 6 p.m. Admission by ticket only, price 1s., from W.F.L. Office, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

Please Note.

War conditions with regard to printing make it imperative that all articles, notes, paragraphs, etc., for THE VOTE must reach the office, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C. 1, on Mondays. Tuesday morning's first post is reserved for final and urgent news. THE VOTE should be obtainable in all parts of the kingdom on Friday every week.

Joint Standing Committee of Irish Suffrage Societies.

A deputation of the Joint Standing Committee of Irish Suffrage Societies waited on Sir Horace Plunkett, Chairman of the Irish Convention, at Trinity College last week. The deputation included Miss Chenevix (Irishwomen's Reform League), Mrs. Kingston (Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation), Mrs. Stephen Gwynn (Catholic League for Woman Suffrage), Miss Alice M. Stack (Church League for Woman Suffrage), and Miss Mellone (Belfast Suffrage Society). The object of the deputation was to urge the importance of the recognition of the citizenship of women by the co-optation of a woman on the Convention, and further to press for the inclusion of the enfranchisement of Irishwomen in any scheme for the future government of Ireland which may be recommended by the Convention. The proceedings were confidential. M. Gwynne, Hon. Sec.

THEY SUPPORT US.

OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Are They Still Paid?

Now that Parliament has apparently come to its senses, and recognises in woman something that need not be treated as a wild beast or a savage, we think the time appropriate to ask what has become of certain officials who received salaries of £300 a year and over, in the House of Commons, to protect the national dignity from the onslaughts of militant suffragettes? These gentlemen drew their salaries and held their positions "all along of you ladies," as a reproachful police-officer once remarked; and in these days of "national economy" it would be interesting to know whether the salaries and positions are still maintained.

Complimentary and Otherwise.

Members who voted for the retention of the grille have given their "reasons" to *The Weekly Dispatch*. Of them all we prefer the subtle flavour of Mr. Burdett-Coutts's reply, "because mystery lends enchantment to the view." Here is a gentleman to whom the play of fancy is evidently a joy. Contrasted with him, the other persons who claim that their reasons were the protection of women from annoyance ("for the women's sake," says Col. Pryce-Jones, and he a suffragist!), and the contention that *women themselves* preferred the conditions of obstruction under which they suffered, cut rather a poor figure. We do not know what epithet his fellow-members will apply to Lieut. Archdale, who considers the House of Commons "not suitable for an opera-box, where dress and glitter must distract attention from business." Like so many of the double-edged anti-suffrage arguments, this is really a nasty knock for his colleagues, whose powers of attention to business he evidently rates very low. But perhaps he knows them?

Our Comrades Overseas.

"Disgraceful scenes of rioting by suffragettes" are reported from Washington, where "men and women came to blows indiscriminately" outside White House, and where "the authorities are taking drastic action to suppress any future attempts at such meetings." We warn all our fellow suffragists not to be in haste to accept this version. It is in the last degree improbable that any violence was attempted by the Washington suffragists, and our own history shows us how the violence inflicted by brutal mobs on inoffensive women was always laid to the account of those on whom the violence was inflicted, and not to the real rioters. We presume that the women, as usual, were attacked when peacefully exercising their citizen rights. As for the suppression of meetings in future by the U.S. Government, it will mark a black date for democracy; and indeed the record of republics is a poor one. With France still denying the municipal vote to its women, with the United States beginning where Britain has left off, and with Russia entirely uncertain as to the application and interpretation of "universal" suffrage, we really may congratulate ourselves on the position of our "effete" monarchical institutions!

Enlightenment!

Hampstead Garden Suburb, in the search for enlightenment, has been addressed quite recently by Mrs. Creighton and Miss Mary Macarthur. Both these ladies dealt with the future; the first, with the position of women after the war, the second, the future of women in industry. There are certain points that have been overlooked by both, if they have been honestly reported. Mrs. Creighton, for instance, is represented as saying that when our soldiers came back from the trenches, "much in the future would turn on what they expected from their wives and sweethearts." And *The Daily Telegraph*, in a leading article, settles on this point, and says "clearly

they will not desire to find rivals in work and employment. The last thing in the world which they will look for is even the suggestion of a sex antagonism." (Anyone would think, from this, that sex antagonism was a new and alien idea.) What *The Daily Telegraph* overlooks is that there is another side to things, and that a great factor will be, what will the wives and sweethearts expect from the men who have been through the fiery furnace of this war? Clearly not a relapse into the old miserable jealousies and tyrannies and prejudices! The "sex war" was declared by men, not women; it is for them to mend their ways, not women. It is for them to admit that every woman is as much entitled to earn an honest living, and to give her work to the world in her own way, as any man; and that when men, the minority, cast it at women that they are *rivals*, women, the majority, may come in time to reverse the situation and look on the men, not themselves, as in rivalry!

Who Declared the "Sex War"?

Miss Macarthur also strangely reverses the situation, and speaks as if the only reason for the "sex war" is the fact that women take lower wages than men. She looks forward to the time when the "individual woman will see that she is doing a bad thing to depress the wages of father, brother, or future husband; and all will be well. It is not possible that Miss Macarthur can be so innocent as this. She cannot have forgotten *why* women accepted pitiful wages. She cannot *really* believe that the only question in the sex war is whether women will or will not stick to the jobs of the fighting men! It serves no good purpose to obscure the real issues in these questions, in these critical times; and if there is to be industrial peace and welfare in the future, "que messieurs les assassins commencent."

Clear Conditions, Not Restricted Labour.

Miss Macarthur also declares that much of the work women are doing is unsuitable, and is performed under unsuitable conditions; and that in the reconstruction we must aim at securing for women as wide a field as possible *consistent with the health and welfare of the race*. This has always been a favourite argument for depriving women of their living—starvation being recognised as much more salubrious than hard work with good wages. Miss Macarthur forgets that men also work at unsuitable work under unsuitable conditions, to the great detriment of the "health and welfare of the race," and we would suggest that the work, not the workman, should be the subject of restriction! Work was made for mankind, not mankind for the work; and work also is for the world, not a monopoly for certain privileged classes. Let us get these fundamental facts right, and then we may proceed safely to discuss the future, of which all that can be said with certainty is that it is "wropt in mystery."

WOMEN IN WAR TIME.

To Tend British Soldiers' Graves in France.

About twenty women gardeners who have been trained at Kew are going to France, where they will take up the duty of tending the graves of our dead soldiers. They form the first contingent, and others will follow.

Director of Companies.

Mrs. Thomson Price, a well-known member of the Women's Freedom League of many years' standing, who has been for some time a director of Slaters' Restaurants Company, has now been appointed director of S. Hildesheimer and Co., the art publishers. As is the case with Slaters', Mrs. Thomson Price is the only woman on the directorate. We are glad to see capable women holding positions of responsibility and honour in the business world, and wish our member continued success in work for which she is admirably qualified.

SEE OUR SALE AND EXCHANGE, PAGE 336.

THE VOTE.

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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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THAT "SENSE OF JUSTICE."

A phrase all too frequently, even in these days, on the lips of men and some women is "women have not the same sense of justice as men." The wearisome reiteration with which this recurs tempts one to exclaim, "the Lord make us truly thankful." For, like that capacity for logic of which we hear so much and experience so little, this sense of justice all too frequently shows a modest tendency to retreat out of sight when opportunity for advertising itself by action occurs.

With so profound—or so exalted—a development of this noble attribute in the male sex, a very remarkable phenomenon is the number of male persons suffering from grievances. The number of these persons appears to be unlimited. The Army bristles with them. The Navy is manned by them. The Civil Service collects them by the gross. The mercantile marine recruits them by the ship-load. The ranks of organised labour are mainly staffed by them. The people who write letters to *The Times* and other daily publications have no other reason for seeking publicity. And as all these complainants suffer their woes mainly at the hands of their fellow men, we often wonder what it was, other than a light and airy play of fancy, which gave rise to the widespread fiction of this masculine "sense of justice."

As a matter of fact, the whole world is at this moment groaning under the heel of the lack of a sense of justice in the male sex; for, we presume—in spite of the lurking, lingering fear hidden deep in every masculine heart of the power of the Almighty Feminine—no one has yet ventured to set the savage attack on the liberties of Europe to the account of the domesticated Augusta rather than the militant Wilhelm. It is very obvious, therefore, in regard to the sense of justice so lamentably lacking in women, that something goes very wrong in the working out of the actions of those to whom the possession of this noble attribute is a source of so much pride and conscious virtue.

At this particular moment the women's cause has made notable progress. A Bill has come to the Committee stages with a women's suffrage clause

included, with an irreducible minimum of opposition. The Grille is being removed in discreet silence from the Ladies' Gallery. Mr. Arnold Ward, a pathetic figure, is left lamenting solitary among the ruins of the anti-suffrage Carthage. Women in Government work are being prosecuted for not wearing trousers. Girls have made good a footing in the sacred precincts of the War Office, the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, and the Law Courts. Women are being sent to the Front. The scarcity of women doctors is admitted to be a national calamity. All of which is heartening. Nevertheless, there are still some very odd manifestations of the vaunted sense of justice, if we take stock of the position in detail.

The Government, in its struggles to cope with a job which is manifestly beyond its capacity, is continually appointing committees. When these committees are "Parliamentary," they do not include any women at all, although the "sense of justice" does not preclude their frequently taking for the subject of their discussions some purely feminine matter. Just at this time, although the Electoral Reform Bill is not yet passed, and if it does pass will bring to the Government of the land an entirely new electorate, the Old Guard is grappling with the Reform of the House of Lords. No woman is to be invited to give her view. No woman is to be allowed to contribute of her store of commonsense or patriotism to the discussions of the Irish Convention; and as we well remember, no woman was allowed a place on the Speaker's Committee appointed to confer on the question of women's suffrage.

Bad as this is, we are of opinion that the sham "representation" given to women on various other committees is almost worse. On the Departmental Committee for Education, there are four women to sixteen men, although two-thirds of the teachers are women. On the sub-committee on Relations between Employer and Employed (after the war) of the Reconstruction Committee, there are two women to twelve men. On the Divorce Committee, it will be remembered, there were only two women, although half the divorced or divorcing persons are necessarily women. On the local committees on housing Mr. Clynes announces that provision is made for one woman in each committee of twelve persons; and from his speech one would never gather that houses and homes were primarily for women. And one might multiply these instances indefinitely.

The deep-seated belief that it is plain most men cherish of the extraordinary power of women, used to find unconscious expression in days gone by. At meetings, suffrage speakers were often asked how it was that in Australia—or elsewhere—women had got the vote but had not succeeded in setting right everything that men had ever done wrong. Or the fear was expressed that every woman in the country would be too much absorbed with Parliamentary duties to attend to the homes. No doubt appeared to be entertained that women *would* get into Parliament, into commerce, into the Law Courts, into all the front places, once the artificial barriers raised against them were removed. And in the same way it would seem to be accepted that one woman on a committee is a fair match for ten or twelve men, and that a committee so proportioned is, in the words of Mr. Fisher, the new Minister for Education, "very well constituted as it is." It may be, indeed, a compliment in disguise, but the disguise is not a pretty one. We would vastly prefer something less complimentary and more in accord with the dictates of that much-advertised "sense of justice" which—if judged by results—can only have its existence in fancy. It is a pleasant fancy, and one that gives a grateful sense of superiority; but, like many pleasant fancies, unsubstantial and unsupported by one solitary iota of reality.

C. NINA BOYLE.

MRS. KELLY ON THE UNION.

"What I want to know, miss, is this. What's the use o' the Union? There's the rate for it. What use is it at all? There's Mrs. Garvey that has six childher. Garvey hasn't done a month's steady work for the last year, and what he makes he can dhrink and more. She has no way of gettin' the money from him. God help her! It's just thirty-eight she is, and she can't get anny work, an' there's four shillin's for the rent. The Cruelty people put him in prison for six months, and of course not a penny she got from him all that time. What was that in your books, miss, about how in Australia they makes a man work while he's in prison, and gives some of the money to the wife? Anny way, Mrs. Garvey got nothin', an' when he came out she had to keep him till he got a job, so that didn't do her much good. Now what's the use o' the Union to her? She can't get outdoor relief, because Garvey's there still, and 'capable of working,' as the gentlemen in the Court says. Then she can't go into the house, for he won't let her, and anny way, if he would, she says to me the other day 'Only idlers and dhrinkers go into that place. As long as I've hands to work, I'd rather die.' The childher would be taken away from her, you see, and there's the youngest just three, and she won't do it, not if they all starve."

"Then there's Maggie Ryan, she buried her husband two years ago, and he left her with three childher. It's five shillin's a week she gets now outdoor relief, and what she makes by the knittin', and both together just gives them bread and tay, and that's all ever they gets. Them kitchens, miss, sure they won't go to them, they don't like them stews and soups and mixed-up things at all, and, in anny case, it's too far. Maggie wouldn't go into the Union. 'There never was a dog belongin' to our thrife wint into such a place,' says she, and says I, 'Sure, it's thrue for ye.' Shure, if anny of them wint in, it would be cast up agin them and agin their childher after them. Why is it, miss, that if some grand gentleman gets thousands on top o' thousands from the Government, that's honour and glory, and if some poor thing like Maggie Ryan, that's worked her fingers to the bone, has to take a few shillin's from the Guardians at long last, it's a disgrace? I'm thinkin' when they put the ould age pansion at seventy, it's hopin' they were most of us would be dead first, and indeed, it's dead Maggie will be; she's got two legs in the grave already, the crathur."

"And it's just the same with them that hasn't anny childher. There's Biddy Mulligan, sixty-eight she is, and can't earn more than seven shillin's at the knittin', and her hands that stiff with the rheumatism. And yet go into the Union she won't. 'I hope God Almighty will take me before I reach there,' says she. 'Bedad, I'd sooner die of hunger. Shure, they gives you just black bread there, and not half enough of it, and the tay it's quare stuff.' No, miss, I know what you mean, that they get twice what they can buy for themselves, and more, but they don't think so. Besides, there's the doin' nothin', just sittin' and thinkin', and nothin' to think of but the good old times that will never come back, when you were a slip of a girl, runnin' about with the boys and girls, and dancin' to the barrel organ. If they must go to the Union, miss, couldn't you give them somethin' to do, just to forget for a bit?"

All down the ages men and women have longed for water of Lethe, but never did the prayer for those blessed drops of forgetfulness take more pathetic form than in the heart of old Biddy, bent, dim-eyed, stiff-fingered, paying two shillings for her tiny room, starving on the five shillings left, but dreading the whitewashed walls and bare spaces where hours

would pass in idleness, brooding over the far-off happy past, shrinking from the dull, unchanging future. Two years more to struggle, and there will be "the pansion," and independence—with starvation. But the fingers grow more stiff every day, and the needles move more slowly. Help from charities? These are overstrained already. Biddy and Mrs. Garvey and the others must wait, for the gentlemen are too busy settling the terms on which the country shall be governed to heed their misery.

DORA MELLONE.

POLITICAL NOTES. Solicitors (Examination) Bill.

Mr. BONAR LAW, on August 15, replying to a question by Mr. W. H. Dickinson, said he was not aware of an understanding that if the second reading of the Solicitors (Examination) Bill were agreed to the Government would consider the possibility of affording an opportunity for the consideration of the Bill for admitting women to the profession of solicitors. He added: "I cannot make any promise that it will be taken up as a Government measure during the autumn sittings."

In a brief debate on the same day the Solicitors (Examination) Bill was reported, read the third time, and passed. The Speaker ruled women out of the Bill thus:—

The Instruction on the Paper in the name of the right hon. Member for St. Pancras (Mr. Dickinson)—"That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Bill that they have power to include in the Bill provisions enabling women to enter for examination to be admitted as solicitors and to be admitted to practice in the profession accordingly"—is out of order. The question of the admission of women to the profession of solicitor is not one which is relevant to this Bill. The same applies to the Instruction in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Durham (Major Hills)—"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to include in the Bill provisions enabling women to present themselves for the examination mentioned in the Bill, and enabling them to be examined."

Major Hills, Mr. Charles Roberts, and Mr. A. Williams spoke strongly in favour of allowing women to take the examinations, but the Speaker was adamant, insisting that to do so would open up an entirely different issue, which must be in another Bill. In Committee Major Hills again championed the women. "In many cases," he said, "women are doing the work of admitted men, and the fact that they are not themselves admitted will mean that they are paid less. It is extremely unfair and constitutes a grievance that should be remedied."

Replying to Mr. Charles Roberts, who asked for enlightenment as to the course the Government would take in the autumn with regard to Lord Buckmaster's Bill admitting women, which the Lords have passed in all its stages, the Solicitor-General declared that at present it would not be taken up as a Government measure. He brought forward the old argument that at a time when so many solicitors are absent on military duty it was not fitting that a permanent change of this kind should be made. It was, he said, a highly controversial measure, and in no sense an emergency war measure, as it would take five years (or at least three if she had passed certain University examinations) for a woman to become a solicitor.

Representation of the People Bill.

Before Parliament adjourned Clause 25 was reached and carried, and Mr. Bonar Law stated on August 20 that when the House meets after the adjournment the Bill will be taken on October 17 and during the rest of the week. He added that it was expected that the redistribution schedules would be ready by that time.

From the woman's point of view the most interesting debate on the Bill was on the Government amendment, on August 15, introducing voting by proxy for soldiers, sailors, and the mercantile

marine. Considerable opposition was experienced, and Sir George Cave finally agreed that with the acceptance of the principle, details of its application should be considered on the Report stage. The general feeling of the House was that the proxy vote should only be granted to those who were too far from this country for postal facilities to be used.

Sir GEORGE CAVE, explaining the proxy vote, said:

We propose that the proxy himself must be either an elector for the constituency in which the vote is to be given or the wife of the person who gives the proxy. I say that because it is very desirable that the proxy himself should be an elector, should be cognisant of what is going on in the division, and should not be merely an outsider and know nothing of what is going on. He may have his wife, and, if need be, he can have some other near relation, so that if the soldier happens to have no one to whom he desires to confide this trust, he can appoint, as very many of them will appoint, his wife or some very near friend to give the vote for him.

Member after Member took it quite as a matter of course that women would be proxy-holders for absent men.

Mr. ARNOLD WARD, however, with his anti-suffrage opinions, was roused to protest. He declared that by this Government amendment millions more women might become voters than those included in Clause 4. He said:

I should like to ask the Home Secretary whether he has considered the extraordinary—I believe it must have been to him unforeseen—consequences which may arise if the wives of electors are permitted to exercise these proxies? I believe it is not too much to say that if that condition is maintained it will absolutely transform the scheme of woman suffrage which has already been accepted by the House, and sweep away the limitations and safeguards which this Committee has already passed in Clause 4, and enfranchise hundreds of thousands, and possibly millions of women whom this House has already decided ought not to be enfranchised. . . . If the Home Secretary's scheme is adopted, and the wife of an elector is to be permitted to have the vote, totally regardless of whether she satisfies the conditions laid down by this Bill and accepted by this Committee in Clause 4, and, more particularly, totally irrespective of her age, where are we? I should like the Home Secretary to consider whether there are not hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of the wives of soldiers and sailors who are abroad who are under the age of 30. Possibly many of them are far under the age of 30. Many are under the age of 21. There are hundreds of the age of 18 and of 16. Under this proposal, and as proxy holders, they have the opportunity of taking part in an election, having both sides soliciting them for their vote, and, in fact, acting as Parliamentary electors for a decade and a half before this House wishes to entrust them with this responsibility.

In spite of this despairing cry, and the vision of millions more women voters, the House was quite unperturbed, and Sir GEORGE CAVE, in his comments, made no reference to Mr. Ward's speech.

Replying to Mr. NEEDHAM on the question of University electors, Sir GEORGE CAVE said: According to the latest Home Office return of Parliamentary Constituencies (No. 120 of 1915) the number of electors for each of the Universities now represented in Parliament was at that date as follows: Oxford, 7,135; Cambridge, 7,228; London, 6,960; Edinburgh and St. Andrews, 12,756; Glasgow and Aberdeen, 13,254; Trinity College, Dublin, 4,138. As to the prospective electorate of the Universities under the Representation of the People Bill, no precise figures are available, but the estimated numbers for England and Wales are as follows: Oxford, 16,000; Cambridge, 20,000; London, 15,000; other Universities in England and Wales, 15,000. It is not considered that the electorate for the Scottish Universities will be materially increased. As to Ireland I have no information.

Mr. PRINGLE: Is the right hon. gentleman not aware that there will be a considerable increase in the electorate in the Scottish Universities owing to the coming of women graduates on to the electoral roll?

Sir G. CAVE: There will be an increase, but I do not think it will be a very large one.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS.

MARCH ON!

"Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent."

"I have done so much for the vote. Now I am tired of the Movement," said a woman wearily to one of our VOTE sellers. Though this made us sad, we admired the woman's frankness, knowing others whose actions show this feeling, but who will not make the admission.

Why this flagging and weariness at the eleventh hour? Is it that the need for the vote is gone now that our children labour to make profits for the farmer and manufacturer while they should yet be at work and play in school? Is it that the spectacle of our sons being slaughtered for our national suffrages is an absorbing counter-attraction to our suffragists? Or are we as a nation sinking from lowered vitality—even our suffragists?

Let us not forget that the women's war is not yet fought to a victory. Let us see how much deeper and wider are its causes and results than any national conflict can be. Not the sons of one nation but of all the world are waiting for free mothers to give them their birthright. The march of women must be united, rank on rank, shoulder to shoulder the world over. Shall our nation delay that pilgrimage—break those ranks—pleading weariness?

If we who have joined the march in its later stages feel that the way has been long, what of those strong figures who have come so far with high hearts and unflagging steps; who have borne the burden and heat of the day and now have reached their evening? Charlotte Despard might well say to us, with the tender tolerance of Another whom she follows, "Can you not march with me one hour?"

Those who have fallen by the way too broken to go further; those whose graves can be seen along the road behind us; they have given us their banners to bear forward. We hear the call for courage from our pioneers. Josephine Butler, whose life work is now threatened, calls to us, and Mrs. Wolstonholme Elmy, whom many of us had the honour to salute, and the younger heroine, Emily Wilding Davidson. If we have any health, if we have any strength, if we have any vitality of mind or body left, dare we lower those banners before the goal is reached? The last few miles are the longest and weariest; let us not falter as the city of our dreams comes into sight, for fear it prove but a mirage; let us gather strength and determination to cover the ever diminishing distance to victory.

DOROTHY EVANS.

The "Protected" Sex.

The war apparently makes little difference to violent attacks on women by men. Here are two which occurred last Saturday:

Hearing screams in a small general shop at Bromley, Kent, about 9 o'clock on Saturday evening a passer-by ran in and found Mrs. Deadman, the proprietress, lying wounded on the floor, while a man was standing over the open till. The man aimed a blow at the stranger, and then rushed out and mounted a motor-omnibus, followed by cries of "Stop him!" The girl conductor closed with the man, and with the assistance of a soldier in the omnibus held him until the police came up. She had one of her fingers badly bitten in the course of the struggle.

At Highgate, on August 20, William Miller, 17, clerk, of Alexandra-road, Hornsey, was charged with the attempted murder of Miss Edith Phillips, aged 20, a typist, of Alston-road, Barnet, by striking her on the head "with a steel rod in a railway carriage between East Finchley and Church End railway stations between 11.49 a.m. and 11.52 a.m. on August 18." When arrested he was in possession of £1 in gold, 4s. in silver, four £1 Treasury notes, thirteen half-penny stamps, seven penny stamps, two cheques, twenty-six keys on a ring, a railway season ticket, a vanity mirror, and a bag of ointment, as well as an eraser and six stencils. Divisional-Detective-Inspector Ferrier said that when he told him the nature of the charge, prisoner replied, "I did not try to murder her. I only wanted to stun her." A severe struggle took place in the railway carriage, but Miss Phillips managed to pull the communication cord. She is suffering from twenty wounds in the head. A remand of the prisoner was ordered.

THEY SUPPORT US!

SHARPEN THE SWORD!

Every Suffragist must be up and doing now, over-confidence or slackening of effort are our only dangers.

A few weeks ago Victory seemed very near, to-day the Bill to enfranchise six million women is a little overshadowed by other matters.

The Women's Freedom League has not laid down its weapons; our struggle will continue until the signing of our terms of Peace.

We must seize the opportunity of the next few weeks to make it plain that there must be no delay in freeing the women of the country.

Public opinion is with us, we must give it voice. Now is the time for meetings and holiday campaigns in all parts of the country to show the strong feeling that exists on this question.

This special political work must not be hampered by want of funds and admits of no delay. Contributions of any amount will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

E. KNIGHT.

OUR TREASURY.

NATIONAL FUND.

Amount previously acknowledged, October, 1907, to December, 1916, £27,609 4s. 3d.

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged ...	574	14	11
Special Emergency War Fund—			
"A Friend" ...	1	17	6
Mrs. Angold ...	3	0	
Political Fund—	2	0	6
Mrs. Walter Carey ...	1	0	0
Mrs. M. Brewer ...	10	6	
Miss C. M. Sparkman ...	10	0	
Miss O. M. Ibbotson ...	5	0	
Miss Boyle ...	2	6	
Mrs. E. H. Clarke ...	2	6	
Miss Ada Murray ...	2	3	
Miss Raleigh ...	2	0	
Miss Jessie Holford ...	1	0	
Miss A. Hymans de Tiel ...	1	0	
Miss Rushbrooke ...	6		
Collection ...	4	7	6
	7	4	9
Mrs. Despard ...	2	0	0
Miss M. I. Saunders ...	5	0	0
Mrs. Tancred ...	5	0	0
Miss Ballard Dawson ...	2	6	
Miss Riggall ...	2	0	
Mrs. A. M. Cook ...	1	0	
Collections (per Miss Dorothy Evans) ...	3	4	4
Sundries ...	11	19	9
	£601	19	9

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

The Despard Arms

123, Hampstead-road, N.W. 1.

Our warmest thanks are given to all friends who sent parcels for our Jumble Sale last Saturday, and who came to help. The demand for "jumbles" was so keen that many purchasers had to go away unsatisfied, clamouring for "another sale as soon as possible!" Will friends make a note of this, and immediately after the holidays send us anything they can spare, addressing all parcels to the Manageress? Their help will be fully appreciated.

A New Development.

We are now arranging our upstairs accommodation as furnished bed-sitting-rooms, or service flats, from 12s. 6d. a week, with two (or more) beds in each room, which will be most suitable for educated women who are at work. We can offer many advantages. Meals can be obtained in the restaurant as desired; we have a piano for the use of residents; hot baths can be ordered; there is electric light in the rooms. During the winter social evenings for men and women will be arranged. The Despard Arms is on tram, bus, and tube routes, and within easy reach of the big railway stations.

Lecture by Miss Boyle.

Miss Boyle has most kindly promised to help us by giving a lecture on her recent experiences during her absence from England, entitled "A Modern View of Ancient Macedon." It will be given at the Minerva Café on Sunday, September 23, at 3.30 p.m. Tickets 1s. each; tea can be obtained after the lecture, 8d. each. The Café should be crowded, as many friends will wish to enjoy the double pleasure of hearing Miss Boyle lecture and of helping the Despard Arms.

Women's Freedom League Coast Campaigns.

North-East Coast.—Organiser, Miss Dorothy Evans, 119, Queen-street, Redcar.

Bad weather in the early part of the week has been somewhat of a handicap, but our record has been fairly well kept up; 550 copies of the last issue of THE VOTE and 100 pamphlets have been sold.

In the North Riding of Yorkshire it appears that written permits are necessary to hold open-air meetings and to collect. Our application for such a permit, however, has been ignored. The police no doubt would have liked to have kept us waiting till our time was over, but we, of course, proceeded with the campaign as arranged, and seeing that we were determined to hold our meetings the police have refrained from further interference. It seems that all political meetings are to come under this ban, and that it has effectively choked off the men's organisations. It has been left to the Women's Freedom League to vindicate the rights of free speech.

We have held a number of meetings here and one at Brotton. Work has also been done in Saltburn and Marske.

Clyde Coast.—Organiser, Miss B. H. McLelland, 18 Windsor-place, Rothesay.

The work continues as vigorously as ever, and the nightly meetings are splendid. We have changed the time of starting to 7.30. Nevertheless 10 o'clock usually finds us still on the pier. There is no end to the flow of questions. On Monday and Tuesday evenings very heavy thunder showers forced us all to seek cover, but when they were over the audience reassembled, and the meetings were continued in the best of spirits. The organiser will be very pleased to have offers of help with open-air work round Glasgow and in Paisley from September 1.

Dinner to Miss Boyle.

The preliminary welcome to Miss Boyle, which took place on August 10, soon after her arrival in London, at a time when so many friends were out of town, will be followed by a dinner to her on Friday, August 31, at 7 p.m., at the Minerva Café. All who wish to attend are reminded that it will be necessary to secure tickets (2s. each) beforehand from Mrs. Fisher, Thursday, August 30, being the latest day on which applications can be received.

After the dinner there will be a public meeting in the Café at 8 p.m. Admission free. Mrs. Despard will welcome Miss Boyle on behalf of the League; Miss Anna Munro will take the chair. Miss Eunice Murray and others will take part in the proceedings. Miss Boyle will speak on "Our Immediate Duty."

All members and friends will desire to take part in the welcome, and are advised to make a note of the date and to arrive in good time at 144, High Holborn.

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FRIDAY,
AUGUST 24,
1917.

THE VOTE

ONE
PENNY
WEEKLY.

Organ of the Women's Freedom League.

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COSTUMES. BLOUSES. HATS.

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THE HANDICRAFTS, 82, High-street, Hampstead, N.W.—Hand-weavings, Hand-made Laces, Home-spuns, Jewellery, Basketwork, Pottery, etc.

LESSONS in PIANOFORTE and SINGING by Mrs. Silvester Sparrow; engagements solicited as Accompanist at Concerts, Dances, &c.—43, Black Lion-lane, Ravenscourt-park, W. 6.

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FURNISHED FLAT, suitable one or two ladies. One sitting, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, dining-room, bath (geyser). Close Notting Hill Gate Tube Station. Two guineas per week.—Miss D., c/o "THE VOTE" Office.

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WANTED, a four to six-roomed Country Cottage, with ½-acre garden; 1 to 1½ hours from London, and not less than a mile from a railway station. Would be taken for three years.—Write DOCTOR, c/o "THE VOTE," Office.

SITUATION VACANT.

RESIDENT HELPER WANTED for the Children's Guest House of the Women's Freedom League Settlement, Nine Elms. Accustomed to children. Vegetarian. £26 per annum.—Apply by letter, The Hon. Sec., 93, Nine Elms Lane, S.W. 8.

FOR SALE.

VERY HANDSOME MAHOGANY DRAWING-ROOM SUITE; one canopy, two arm-chairs, two small upholstered violet damask; £7.—Can be viewed at 13, Theobald's Road, W.C. 1.

A ROYAL TYPEWRITER (No. 5); nearly new and in perfect order; price £20 or very near offer.—Can be seen and tested at "THE VOTE" Office any day between 11 and 1.

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FOUNTAIN PENS which will NOT LEAK, highly recommended by members of the Women's Freedom League; price 6s. 6d.; try one.—Apply SECRETARY, "THE VOTE" Office.

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