

THE VOTE,
MARCH 19, 1920.
ONE PENNY.

RACE MOTHERHOOD.

D. B. MONTEFIORE.

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

VOL. XIX. No. 543.

(Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper and transmissible through the post in the United Kingdom at the newspaper rate of postage, but to Canada and Newfoundland at the Magazine rate).

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1920.

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.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS' PROTEST. O. King.
WOMEN AT HOME AND ABROAD.
IN PARLIAMENT. F.A.U.
DIVORCE LAW REFORM.

II.—RACE MOTHERHOOD. D. B. Montefiore.
WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES.
BOOK REVIEW.
THE UNMARRIED MOTHER.

WOMEN CIVIL SERVANTS' PROTEST.

DEEDS: NOT WORDS!

It took 50 years of incessant pressure, and a revolution which has had no parallel in history, to break down the prejudice against women's representation in the House of Commons. How long will it take to win for woman her right to work unhampered for her living and her right to do her share of the work of the community? It is a long and weary struggle, and is by no means yet won. As soon as our hopes are raised by promises, such as are embodied in the Sex Disqualification Bill, that the Government will set an example and give equality to its women and men employees, they are dashed again by the Treasury's habitual practice of saving a little on the women's salaries.

We have just had the first Report under the new Civil Service Whitley Council. Much has been hoped of this Council by the women in the Service, and bitter is their disappointment. There are many high-sounding phrases on the principle of equality in the opening paragraphs, but on further analysis of the Report it is found that a

differentiation of treatment

runs through the recommendations. It recommends equality during the first few years of service; and thenceforward the difference in pay for men and women grows until the women reach a maximum of, in some cases, £70—£100 lower than that of men of the same grades. In the higher appointments the women's maximum is the men's minimum. This not only continues the principle of sex differentiation, but in some departments, such as in the Ministry of Labour and in the Ministry of Health, it constitutes a definite menace to the women employed there who have secured for themselves in certain grades equal pay for equal work.

There are inequalities in the matter of recruitment, and, whereas the number of women in the higher grades tends to be diminished, the class of writing assistants recruited on a much lower examination is to

be extended, and this will be open to *women only*. This is an ominous sign, and being interpreted means that it will tend to be a blind-alley occupation, with practically no outlet into the Service, fit only for girls. Again, whilst men are to enter the highest grades by open competitive examination, women can only enter by selection, a method which lends itself to influence and patronage.

These terms, we understand, are the most that the staff side of the Reorganisation Committee of the Whitley Council were able to get the official side to agree to. This failure is particularly disappointing in view of the

history of precastination

of the Government in dealing with the women in its service. In 1912 the women clerks gave evidence before a Royal Commission on the Civil Service, and urged their claim to equal pay and conditions of service with Second Division clerks (men). The Commissioners recommended that where the work of women approximated to that of men the pay should also approximate, but these recommendations were never carried out, the war intervening. After some years had elapsed the Treasury was approached with a view to obtaining equality of pay, and the matter was eventually referred to the Conciliation and Arbitration Board for Civil Servants for decision. After two months the Board announced that the War Cabinet had decided that the principle of equality of pay between men and women was not within the competence of the Board to decide. A provisional claim was then made, and an increase of £10 on the maxima of the lowest grades was granted, the Board adding that this award was without prejudice to the reopening of the case at the end of the war, or when the report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry was issued. It was issued, and strongly recommended equal pay for similar duties in the Civil Service, but meanwhile the Civil Servants were

pressing the Government to set up a National Whitley Council for the Civil Service, and in view of the imminence of this the women decided to wait until they could place their claim before such a Council. One of the first steps of the National Whitley Council was to set up a committee consisting of four women and twenty-one men to consider the re-organisation and pay of the clerical classes. The Committee's report was published on March 1st, and is to be submitted to the full Council on the 19th inst. Women clerks, as well as many other classes of women workers, are rallying their forces to induce the National Whitley Council to amend the Reorganisation Committee's report or to refer it back for further consideration by the sub-committee so far as women's position is concerned.

We must bring our full strength to bear before March 19th. The members of the Federation of Women Civil Servants feel that they must stand firm on this point, as this Report constitutes a precedent which will have a profound effect on the position of wage-earning women in general. For the first time we have conditions of service to be settled by agreement in a committee in which the employers' side is the Government, and a Government which is pledged up to the hilt to remove all inequalities and disabilities on women. This is not our fight only; we are standing for the principle of equality for ourselves, our fellow clerks, and our sex.

O. KING.

(Hon. Sec., Federation of Women Civil Servants).

WOMEN AT HOME AND ABROAD.

A Popular Novelist.

The death last week of Helen Mathers involuntarily recalls reminiscences of the numerous "novels for young ladies" which flowed easily from her pen. The 53rd edition of her most popular book, "Comin' Thro' the Rye," was issued only a few months ago, and ran into 50,000 copies. This book appeared when the first frozen rigidity of the early Victorian period in English literature was just giving the first signs of breaking up, and as in her way Miss Mathers was something of a pioneer, her women being fuller blooded and more natural than those of her predecessors, she received furious onslaughts from the staid critics of that era. In spite of almost phenomenal success as a novelist, Helen Mathers had, nevertheless, retired from fiction some ten years before her death. For that she had two reasons—the death of her son, and the fact that she found novel-writing did not pay under the prices then prevailing. After she gave up writing she entered upon a new career, that of decorative adviser to a furnishing firm.

Educational Films.

An interesting educational experiment is to be made at Ealing after the Easter holidays. The local Education Committee has arranged to hire the cinema theatre at West Ealing for one morning each week for the purpose of showing films of an educational value to the children attending the local schools. The cost will be £3 per morning for the hire of the building and 15s. for the hire of the films. The idea was originated by the Chairman of the Committee, Councillor W. F. Piper, who is headmaster of an L.C.C. school at Notting Hill.

Two New Papers.

A new paper, controlled by a board of women directors, is to be called "Time and Tide," and it will deal weekly with all the topics of the day. Mrs. Chalmers Watson, the first head of the W.A.A.C.s, is the chairman of the board of directors, and Lady Rhondda the vice-chairman.

Lady Diana Cooper has agreed to edit the English edition of the French magazine entitled "Femina," which is to be published by the Field Press, Ltd.

Women as Citizens.

In a recent address to the Women Citizens' Association, Manchester, Miss Constance Smith, Senior Lady Inspector of Factories, referred to the deference which was given by the delegates at the Washington Conference to the views of their women advisers. It was the woman adviser to the Japanese delegate who put before the Conference the industrial conditions of women in that country. Even in the East the work and status of women, and the experience and knowledge stored up by generations of women, were beginning to be considered and acknowledged. At the International Congress of Working Women, which was held at the same time, in Washington, some of the most gifted of the speakers at that Congress were women from the newly-established States, such as Czecho-Slovakia and Poland.

Votes for American Women.

Suffragists are immensely elated with the passing by the West Virginia Legislature of the Federal Suffrage Amendment which proposes to extend the franchise to women throughout the United States. Thirty-four States have now ratified the amendment, which will become part of the American Constitution as soon as two more States have voted for it. It is considered a foregone conclusion that the Delaware and Washington Legislatures, which are to meet in special session in a fortnight's time to consider the Amendment, will make the victory for female suffrage complete.

Danish Woman Voters.

Since Danish women obtained the vote various new positions are opening out to them. At Copenhagen two women jurors sat for the first time. In Parliament the Bill concerning women's admission to all offices has been referred to a joint committee, where the question of women clergymen is the only point in debate. Although some Danish women have already passed the necessary theological examinations, and are ready to offer themselves for the Ministry, there is actually a movement on foot, owing to the want of male candidates, to admit men to the priesthood without any examination at all!

Woman's Suffrage in Roumania.

The Feminist question, *Jus Suffragi* reports, is being well received in Roumania. All the political parties have put Woman Suffrage eligibility in their programmes, and the National Democratic Party has put in its programme the full equality of women. The Liberal Party has given women the right to be nominated to Municipal Councils. The Queen of Roumania is warmly interested in the question of Women's Rights. In a short time it is hoped to lay a Bill before the Chamber demanding full civic and political rights.

Ukrainian Women.

The position of women in Ukraina to-day, according to Mme. Serge Zarchi, now on a visit to England, proves the feeling of equality and liberty that pervades the whole country. Even the word "drujiena," used by the peasants as a term for "wife," means, literally, "comrade" or "partner," so that socially there is no sense of the inferiority of women amongst any class. The Ukrainian women of to-day are interested in politics as well as in art and education, and in 1917, when the independence of Ukraina was proclaimed, there was no thought amongst the authorities of debarring them from political freedom.

OUR ADVERTISEMENTS

like to know the results of their Advertisements. When writing them mention the 'Vote.'

IN PARLIAMENT.

Soldiers' Children in Workhouses.

In reply to MR. STANTON'S question in the House of Commons on this subject, SIR LAMING WORTHINGTON-EVANS stated that there were still a number of children of deceased service men in Poor Law Institutions; but that he was taking all possible steps to remove every child for whose care he was responsible unless that was absolutely incompatible with the interests of the child itself. A large number of children who were under the Poor Law had already been placed with private families. He did not wish to separate children of the same family, and it was not easy to find suitable homes when there were three or four brothers and sisters.

Postal Letter Rate.

In reply to MR. LAWSON'S question as to whether the charge for letter postage would be raised from 1½d. to 2d., the POSTMASTER-GENERAL (Mr. Illingworth) said that the question of increasing postage rates was under consideration, and when a decision had been arrived at it would be announced.

Profiteering and High Prices.

MR. DOYLE has given notice that next Tuesday he will call the attention of the House to the questions of profiteering and high prices, and that he will move a Resolution on this subject.

Veneral Diseases.

In reply to a question by MR. J. DAVISON, DR. ADDISON stated that the number of cases dealt with for the first time at treatment centres between January 1st, 1917, when the first treatment centres were opened, and December 31st, 1919, were approximately 175,000. The approximate expenditure of local authorities on their schemes for the diagnosis and treatment of venereal diseases during the years ending March 31st, 1917, 1918, and 1919 amounted to £18,000, £116,000, and £216,000 respectively. The estimated expenditure during the current financial year was £314,000. Of this expenditure 75 per cent. was borne by national funds and 25 per cent. by local funds.

Women Telephonists (Temporary Clerks).

MR. CROOKS asked the POSTMASTER-GENERAL whether temporary women telephonists who have been in the service for some time, and are competent employees, are being discharged, whilst young girls who have yet to undergo the necessary period of training are being added to the permanent staff; and whether, with a view to securing maximum efficiency in the telephone service, he will have this policy reconsidered and retain the services of telephonists who have shown their capabilities?

MR. PEASE: I have arranged that temporary women telephonists in London who are eligible to obtain Civil Service certificates shall be afforded the opportunity of nomination to appointments on the permanent staff. Some of the temporary women are, however, from one cause or another, ineligible, and I much regret that there is no alternative but to discontinue their services when new recruits have been trained.

Employment of School Children.

In reply to a question by MR. SPOOR, the HOME SECRETARY (Mr. Shortt) stated that there was no power to sanction bye-laws prohibiting all employment of school children. There was power to sanction prohibition of employment in specified occupations and to regulate and restrict employment generally, and a number of codes of bye-laws on these lines had been submitted by local authorities and were being dealt with as rapidly as possible.

F. A. U.

CANADIAN FRANCHISE BILL.—The new Franchise Bill introduced in the House of Commons last week provides for a uniform franchise throughout Canada and a uniform method of preparing the lists. It establishes the basis of the franchise as British citizenship and one year's residence for all males and females over 21.

A LEGAL PIONEER.

The success of English women in winning their way into the Inns of Court recalls the efforts of Mrs. Belva Lockwood—who died not long ago—to batter down the barriers that prevented women from acquiring legal education and practising in law courts. The *Manchester Guardian* says she was the first woman in America—or, for that matter, in the world—to practise as a barrister. She did not rest content until she had won for her sex the right to plead in the United States joined it immediately. Mrs. Lockwood passed the study law she could find no attorney who would permit her to read with him. Not daunted, she went to the libraries and there read the necessary books. Her husband, an old-fashioned preacher of the "hell-fire and damnation" type, had decided to become a lawyer, and was at the time studying at a Washington law college. She quietly accompanied him and listened to the lectures, saying nothing to him of her ambition. When the course was nearly finished she applied to the Dean for admission as a regular student. He refused her application on the ground that her presence in the lecture-room might prove a disturbing influence among the men students.

Mr. Lockwood strongly objected to his wife's unfeminine aspirations. She braved his wrath, however, persevered, and finally got into Howard College, which, being devoted to educating negroes, sympathised with this other victim of educational prejudice. Finally, as the result of her agitation, the National University started a law college for women, and fifteen joined it immediately. Mrs. Lockwood passed the Bachelor of Laws examination in 1873, but was unable to obtain her diploma until she appealed personally to President Grant. She was then admitted to all the five branches of the Court of the District of Columbia. Failing to secure admission to the Bar of the higher courts, she got a Bill passed by Congress admitting women to practice in the Supreme Court. She appeared as counsel in many important cases, specialising in Red Indian claims, and continued practising almost to the time of her death, when she was nearly 90 years old.

PRISON REFORM.

The Lyceum Club Group for Social Study gave a dinner last week to various people interested in the question of Penal Reform. Mr. Clarke Hall spoke of his experience in the use of Probation, and eloquently urged the further use of the system by which voluntary probation workers are employed under the organisation of professional probation officers. He pointed out the dangers of a slack or inefficient system of probation, whilst emphasising the immense benefits which will accrue to the State from its employment in many more cases than at present. He further suggested the desirability of introducing a suspended sentence, partial or complete remission from which could be earned by satisfactory behaviour during the period of suspension.

Miss Margery Fry, the Hon. Secretary of the Penal Reform League, spoke on the unsatisfactory nature of our present prison system. She urged that bail should be more freely granted, and particularly instanced recent cases where pregnant women had been imprisoned on remand for minor offences. She spoke of the folly of sending young offenders between 16 and 21 years of age to prison for short sentences, and urged that other methods, notably probation, should be used for dealing with minor crimes, whilst the longer sentences of imprisonment should be made an occasion for a more definite attempt to reclaim the criminal by re-educating him morally and industrially.

Major Gomme spoke of the possibilities of using camps established for German prisoners of war as colonies for offenders who had fallen into crime more from misfortune than through intent.

Miss Helena Normanton spoke upon the subject of the juvenile offender. Other speakers included Mrs. Nevinson and Miss Mayo.

THE VOTE.

Proprietors: THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., LTD.
Offices: 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.

FRIDAY, MARCH 19th, 1920.

NOTICE.—Letters should be addressed as follows:—
To the Advertising Manager—on advertising.
To the Secretary—on all other business, including VOTE orders,
printing, and merchandise, etc.

Telephone: MUSEUM 1429.

Telegrams: "DESPARD, Museum 1429, London."

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.

SUBSCRIPTION RATE.

At Home and Abroad ... Post free, 6/6 per annum.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM.

On February 24th, Lord Buckmaster introduced into the House of Lords his Matrimonial Causes Bill. The second reading debate began on March 10th, and is to be continued on March 24th. The Bill is based upon the recommendations in November, 1912, of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. It would repeal all the existing acts relating to divorce and restate the law on this subject. It removes the unjust inequality between husband and wife, unfaithfulness being sufficient ground for either partner to obtain divorce. It also to some extent removes the inequality between rich and poor, by providing that where the joint income of husband and wife does not exceed £300 cases may be heard at local sittings of the High Court in eighty-nine towns, one or more in each county, so saving the cost of bringing them to the High Court in London.

It introduces five new grounds of divorce: desertion for three years; cruelty; incurable insanity after five years confinement in an asylum; incurable drunkenness, after three years separation under a separation order for drunkenness; imprisonment under a commuted death sentence.

New grounds of nullity are also introduced: insanity or epilepsy or communicable venereal disease in husband or wife at marriage; or insanity becoming definite within six months; and, in the wife, pregnancy at the time of marriage by some other man.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, who signed the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce, opposed the Bill, and regretted that the Bill had not been drafted to include those reforms on which all the members of the Commission were agreed and nothing more. The increase of facilities for divorce must be discussed upon the ground of public welfare. The existing law rested on the principle that marriage is a lifelong contract, only to be dissolved by unfaithfulness; at the other pole were those who would permit divorce by mutual consent. Sympathy for individual hardships must be balanced by care for the general welfare. Public opinion upheld our law because the common conscience of the community considered marriage as not primarily a mutual arrangement for happiness, but an obligation of mutual and faithful service. The Bill might tend to make young people more careless and reckless in entering into marriage. Principle and the public welfare must govern sentiment, and not follow it.

LORD PHILLMORE would like to revert to the condition before the Act of 1857, and have no divorce possible at all. The children must be considered before anybody else. In divorce the supply increased the demand. Facility of divorce caused thoughtless marriages to be treated as terminable contracts. The so-called equality of the sexes must be conceded. Let that pass.

LORD GORELL agreed as to the great difficulties which appeared the moment the first and traditional cause for divorce (unfaithfulness) was passed. There was a public demand, and it was of two kinds—the demand

for reform of the present law, and the demand for wide grounds of divorce. The present law was unjust, anomalous, inconsistent, and an open sore in the life of the nation, but that was not necessarily a demand for wider grounds. Could any of them be sure that there was a demand for making a commuted death sentence, insanity, etc., grounds for divorce? Desertion, he felt, was different, but he would lengthen the period to seven years. He thought a Bill carrying the agreed basis of the Royal Commission should first be passed, and after that we should be able to judge whether there really was a demand for widening the grounds of divorce. Such a Bill had in fact been introduced on July 28th, 1914, but was dropped owing to the War, and, if desired, he would reintroduce it. We must proceed cautiously, because steps once taken cannot be retraced, and, in the words of Burke: "To follow, not to face, the public inclination is the true end of the Legislature."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR hoped, when the debate was resumed, to indicate the Government's attitude on the proposals.

INCOME TAX REFORM.

The long-promised Report of the Income Tax Commission has appeared in time to be of use to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in framing his new Budget. The chief recommendations are that married persons having a joint income of not more than £250, and single persons an income of not more than £150 shall be exempt from Income Tax; that there shall be abatements for children—£40 for the first child and £30 for the second and each subsequent child; that a wife's income shall be assessed separately from that of her husband if she so desires; and that co-operative societies' dividends shall be subject to income tax. There is no minority report, but we learn that several members of the Commission were strongly against the last proposal, on the ground, we believe, that these dividends generally represented the small savings of working-class women. If these savings had been put separately into the Post Office Savings Bank they would not be subject to taxation, and there is a strong opinion that they should not be taxed in the aggregate. The recommendation regarding the separate assessment of the incomes of husbands and wives is an extremely important one. This is a reform which would bring our Income Tax Law more into harmony with modern ideas regarding the position of married women, who should surely be responsible for the payment of their own Income Tax. When these recommendations come to be considered we hope it will be made clear that abatements for children will be granted to widows as well as to married men; and to married women if they, and not their husbands, have a taxable income. We are glad to see that incomes of less than £150 will be exempt from taxation; but we are firmly convinced that if half the members of this Income Tax Commission had been thoroughly representative women, more genuine reforms would have been advocated. Readers of THE VOTE will remember that only one woman was appointed by the Government to serve on this Commission.

Send your Printing to us

We will do it cheaply,
: quickly and well :

We know we shall please you, and
you will be helping the VOTE

THE MINERVA PUBLISHING Co., Ltd.,
144 HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

II.—RACE MOTHERHOOD.

MALE EFFLORESCENCE.

In order to marshal the arguments in support of his theory that the Female is the Race, Professor Ward has to probe deeply into the facts of reproduction, in which process Nature shows in the earlier types of life wonderful ingenuity in suiting means to her end—which end was the continuation and carrying on of life. Later on, from being purely a qualitative process, a qualitative form of development appeared, and in order to improve and perfect this qualitative principle the advantageous process of fertilisation or the crossing of one hereditary strain with another took place. In these more advanced stages of reproduction, sex, as the dynamic principle in biology for securing variation or organic evolution is apparent, and in these various stages, from the simplest to the most complex, Professor Lester Ward asserts that "Life began as Female." He then points out that the apparent superiority in size and strength of the male in Nature has many exceptions to the rule; that male fishes are usually smaller than female, and that among the rodents there is but little appreciable difference in these attributes, and very little in colour and adornment. The question then naturally arises as to how it is if the male in many of the earlier forms of life was either a fertilising organ attached to the female, or at the most a

minute organism

detached from her, but devoted to the same purpose, why, in more advanced organisms the male appears so different from its primitive state, and apparently so much more dominant in its functions. The answer to this question is, that the female, through the principle of sexual selection, has used her privilege of choice and has selected each time the male possessing the highest value in size and strength for the continuance of the race. She being the guardian of hereditary qualities, she realises instinctively that variation requires regulation, and she acts unconsciously as the balance wheel of the whole machinery. "Nature's order to the males is: Cross the strains! That to the females is: Choose the best! Here the value of a plurality of males is apparent."

I will now give in Professor Ward's own words how this selecting or choosing power has acted through the ages. "The formidable weapons of the males of many animals acquired through sexual selection are employed exclusively in fighting other males, and never in the serious work of fighting enemies. The female simply looks on and admires the victorious rival, and selects him to continue the species, thus at each selection emphasising the qualities and causing these qualities to tower up into greater and greater prominence. The whole phenomenon of so-called male superiority bears a certain stamp of spuriousness and sham. It is to natural history what chivalry was to human history. It is pretentious, meretricious, quixotic; a sort of make-believe, play or

sport of nature

of an airy unsubstantial character. The male . . . shot up and blossomed out in an unnatural fantastic way, cutting loose from the real business of life, and attracting a share of attention wholly disproportionate to its real importance. I call it *male efflorescence*. It certainly is not male supremacy, for throughout the animal world below man, in all the serious and essential affairs of life, the female is still supreme. There is no male hegemony or andrarchy. Nevertheless, it represents organic evolution of which both sexes have partaken. Its chief value lies in the fact that, in lifting the male from nothing to his present estate it has elevated all species and all life, and placed the organic world on a higher plane.

From the period that primitive man was evolved, brain development gradually increased because success in rivalry for female favour became more and more dependent upon sagacity; but through the dark recesses of the life of primitive man the male, possessing

only egoistic reasoning, and destitute of either sympathy or moral conceptions, used his superior strength to exact from woman whatever satisfaction she could yield him, and gradually the power of choice in sexual selection became transferred from the female to the male, thus causing a distinct transformation in social evolution."

This then is the evolutionary story of the Female "Fall" from that stage when "maternity was everything"; when all things centred round the female, and hers was the choice in sexual selection, to that patriarchal period which prevailed throughout the remainder of the protosocial stage, when "woman being reduced to a mere chattel, bought and sold, was enslaved and abused beyond any powers of description." That this enslavement of the human female was not accomplished without struggle on one side and violence on the other the history of the later phases of the matriarchate or mother-rule prove; Bachofen, McLennan and Morgan and Karl Pierson may be consulted as regards data in connection with the

Matriarchal period

through which the human race passed, while Ratzel is quoted as remarking: "It is probable that in the hordes there existed a certain individual equality between man and woman; the results of our investigations leave it doubtful whether the man always had a superior position."

The evolution of a leisured class was an extremely slow process, but this process considerably modified the physical nature of woman, producing types of female beauty, but at the same time, not only "increasing her dependence upon man, and reducing her power to labour, or in any way protect or preserve herself." To exemplify this we have only to study the various forms of marriage down to modern times; they contain one point in common, the proprietorship of the husband in the wife; while the slave origin of the marriage state is betrayed in the word "obey," which is found in the marriage ceremonies of all countries. Further, the qualities for which man selects woman are more or less spurious attributes; he rarely selects for size, strength, intellectual or moral qualities, or for fecundity, but rather for physical frailty or ephemeral beauty. Woman, therefore, does not advance in any sterling, mental or moral qualities, and under the same influences tends to grow more sterile rather than more fertile.

D. B. MONTEFIORE.

MISS LAWRENCE, M.P.?

Miss Susan Lawrence, who has been selected to fight Dr. Macnamara in North-West Camberwell, the *Daily Express* says, is not one of the fighting women of the Labour Party in the sense that Miss Margaret Bondfield, in the field against Mr. McCurdy at Northampton, is. But she has to her credit some years of patient toil among the very poor in the East End, and has a wide knowledge of local administration. She was one of the Labour victors at the last County Council election, and has worked hard on the Council since her election. Of late Miss Lawrence has been acting as lieutenant to Mr. George Lansbury in Poplar, but her sphere of influence extends to East and West Ham and Woolwich. She is a good speaker, who provides plenty of "meat" in her speeches—without the fire which marks the orations of Miss Bondfield or Mrs. Despard.

MINERVA CAFE, 144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.1.

PUBLIC MEETING

On MONDAY, MARCH 22nd, 1920, at 7 p.m.

"Birthday Influences"

On Character, Temperament, Finance, Home Environment, Health, Enterprise, Marriage, Profession, etc.

Speaker: MRS. J. M. WATERHOUSE.

Admission One Shilling.

WOMEN IN THE CHURCHES.

A Conference on the above subject was held last Thursday afternoon at the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Tottenham Court Road, under the auspices of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. Miss Rathbone presided.

A letter was read from Miss Maude Royden, regretting her absence at the meeting, owing to doctor's orders, and expressing a conviction, obtained from her three years ministry at the City Temple, that the last and most determined struggle of the anti-feminists would be directed to religious affairs. Miss Royden added: "I have had a good deal of experience in the political, economic, and moral aspects of the Women's Movement, but I have not encountered in any of them so much venomous sex-antagonism as I have met with in religious organisations."

Miss E. Picton-Turbervill said there were at least three good reasons why the exclusion of women from official church life should not be tolerated. In the first place it was a perpetual insult to all women, whether churchwomen or not. The ecclesiastical hierarchy in one breath informed women that they were more spiritual than men, and in another that they were not to take any share in active church life. Such reasoning was more in keeping with a Mahomedan line of thought than with Christian conceptions. Secondly, the present position of women in the church was entirely out of harmony with the teaching of Christ, who taught His deepest truths to women often in preference to men. If the whole Bible had perished, with the exception of the four Gospels, there was absolutely nothing in these historical accounts to sanction women's alleged inferiority. Christianity's chief contribution to the world was the belief that every individual possessed value in the sight of God. Civilisation, however, was not organised on that principle, and the failure of the church was largely due to denial of this fundamental truth. Thirdly, the church to-day was suffering acutely from the lack of the woman's point of view. The church's primary duty was the interpretation of the Mind of Christ. All down the ages that Mind had been interpreted by men alone, and it was therefore an incomplete interpretation.

Miss Picton-Turbervill then moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, convened by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, gives definite support to the principle of equality of status and opportunity to men and women in the church."

An interesting discussion then followed, after which Mrs. Fawcett seconded the resolution in a witty little speech, in which she described herself as a buttress rather than a pillar of the church. It was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously, with the exception of some half-dozen dissentients.

PSYCHOLOGY of the WOMAN VOTER.

Fresh from the contest at Paisley, Lady Bonham-Carter, in her speech at the National Liberal Club, declared that it was the greatest mistake to imagine that the best way of reaching women was by bad sentiment and worse jokes. Women should share with men the limitless horizon, which is open to all, men and women alike.

We are in cordial agreement with this expression of opinion. Women take their politics seriously; they have a practical interest in economic questions, and they do not divorce politics from economics. Women have not the same Party traditions as men; and do not find it easy to belong to any particular party organisation. They prefer to hear all sides of a question; and from their point of view each one of the great Party organisations is too narrow to contain the whole of women's political creed. We learn that American women also share this view.

BOOK REVIEW.

[*Can Mankind Survive?* By Morrison I. Swift. (Marshall Jones Co., 212, Summer Street, Boston.) \$1.50 net.]

In this deeply interesting book Mr. Morrison Swift proposes a somewhat pessimistic question. He sees the whole fabric of civilisation tottering, and with that straightness and thoroughness that often marks American publicists, he lays bare the foundations that we may see where we have gone wrong, and how we must build anew. His book is not of the feminist order, but since 8,000,000 women are now called to help in Reconstruction, and since there can be no right building without right knowing, either in the private house or in the State, we shall do well to examine briefly what the American seer sees.

The war has opened our eyes to the utter slovenliness of man's management of the earth. He has countered evolution, fought it, won the battle, which ended up to 1914—1918, in the pyramid resting on its apex; and now we have to face the bankruptcy of the human species. We have lost at least 20,000 years of intelligence, of evolving the best possible conditions, by our determined adoption of permanent principles in the conduct of our affairs. Failure is traced to two main causes, of which the first is the group or class system of society, working on the fundamental principle that one man has a right to live on another. This is the broadest, deepest, most controlling of human conceptions. It was part of the subduer's art to teach the subdued that he ought to be lived on; reasons were invented and taught him. At a later stage politeness and gentleness to the servile class were insisted on. Germany allied herself in every civilised nation with the master class. What that class stood for in the individual nation, Germany hoped to be among all the nations, the Master Nation.

The second cause of the failure of civilisation in the West has been its adoption of Hebrew theories on sociology, on the way to conduct the government of the world, rather than the Greek choice. The Hebrew renounced the world, abandoned its improvement as an impossibility, fixed his eye on some future state where perfection should reign. At different epochs in the world's history the best men and women have withdrawn to the abbeys, hermitages and monasteries. Our author styles this renunciation "a breakdown of the human spirit; an act of great cowardice." The choice that ought to have been made was the enthronement of intelligence as in Greece, the diligent search for the right way, the constant trial of new methods. By adopting the Hebrew choice we have countered evolution, outwitted nature, fostered a grossly materialistic civilisation. We have sacrificed the choice intelligences, sometimes we have extirpated them; at others, poured ridicule and contempt on the innovators, silenced them in school, pulpit, forum, press. Improvement is the true function of man, and human improvement is the correlative of survival of the fittest in the animal world. We have stoned the prophets who warned, put out the eyes of the seers, neutralised and sterilised their influence: this is the résumé of the history of the race. To allow innovators to be at large would imperil "the whole base and brutal order of things." [The reference is to a recent proposal made in the U.S.A. to pronounce Social innovators defective by law, deprive them of liberty, and make them work under stern supervision.] We have invented machinery to maintain things as they are, to abolish variability in the bud, to nip improvement when it raises its head; that machinery is education, not only in the schools and universities, but in law, the churches, medicine—all our institutions.

C. S. BREMNER.

FELLOWSHIP SERVICES.—Having terminated her ministry at the City Temple, Miss Maude Royden will in future preach at Kensington Town Hall every Sunday at 6.30 p.m., Dr. Dearmer conducting a "Five Quarters' Service" at 3 (three) p.m. On Sunday evening Miss Royden will give the Inaugural Address. (Collections for the "Save the Children" Fund.)

Women's Freedom League.

Offices: 144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. 1.

Telegrams—"DESPARD, MUSEUM 1429 LONDON."

Telephone—MUSEUM 1429.

Colours—GREEN, WHITE AND GOLD.

Hon. Treasurer—Dr. E. KNIGHT.

Hon. Organising Secretary—Mrs. SCHOFIELD COATES.

VOTE Sales Department—Hon. Head: Miss ALIX M. CLARK.

Literature Department—

Hon. Heads: Miss H. NORMANTON, B.A. (Literary);

Mrs. PIEROTTI (Business).

General Secretary—Miss F. A. UNDERWOOD.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS, W.F.L.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO
BE FREE

Friday, March 19.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café. Speaker: Miss Rebecca West. Subject: "Women and Crime." 7 p.m. Admission 1s. A few free seats. Chair: Miss Gibson.

Saturday, March 20.—National Executive Committee, 144, High Holborn, 10 a.m.

Saturday, March 20.—Minerva Club, Brunswick Square, W.C. Public Dinner, 7 p.m. Tickets 2s. 6d., from Miss E. Mitchell, at the Club.

Wednesday, March 24.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn. Speaker: Miss Haslett (Sec., Women's Engineering Soc.). Subject: "Women and Engineering." Chair: Miss Newsome. 3 p.m.

Wednesday, April 14.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn. Speaker: Mrs. Tanner. Subject: "The New Education Act."

Saturday, April 24.—Women's Freedom League Annual Conference, Council Chamber, Caxton Hall, Westminster. 10 a.m.

PROVINCES.

Monday, March 22.—Westcliff. Labour Hall, 6, Broadway Market. 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Gattell. Subject: "The Justification of Women in Politics."

Saturday, March 27.—Portsmouth. Jumble Sale, Unitarian Library, High Street. Helpers, 2 p.m. Public, 3 p.m.

OTHER SOCIETIES

Monday, March 29.—Redcar. Mrs. Schofield Coates will address Women's Section of Labour Party on "Mothers' Pensions." 3 p.m.

Wednesday, March 31.—Thornaby-on-Tees. Mrs. Schofield Coates will address Women's Section of Labour Party, on "Mothers' Pensions." 3 p.m.

BRANCH NOTES.

RYE.

Much interest was aroused at the Mock Election held at the Baptist Schoolroom last week. A great feature was the rapid questioning of the candidates by the women in the audience, which showed that the Women's Freedom League is doing good work in Rye. Mrs. A. T. White (Labour) won the highest number of votes. Mrs. A. T. Wells (Independent), President of the Rye Branch of the Women's Freedom League, came next; and the Liberal candidate, Councillor G. Ellis, came third. The Rev. S. H. Wing very ably conducted the Election. We gladly welcome as a new member Miss Wagg, Headmistress of the Rye Grammar School. We elected her as a member of the Committee at once, where she is doing good work. We hope to have a Model Election with a speaker from the Proportional Representation Society in April.

BEXHILL.

We had a good Meeting at the Kahven Café last week, when Mrs. Kither, President of the Ashford Branch, spoke on "What the Women's Freedom League Stands For." Councillor Edith Meads, who presided, spoke of the need for women M.P.s, and strongly urged the Bexhill Branch to raise money in response to the appeal from Headquarters. Mrs. Kither, in an able address, spoke of the ideals of the Women's Freedom League. She pointed out how necessary it is for women and men to work together for the good of the community; and said she hoped that the women of Bexhill intended to work very hard to secure women Magistrates at the earliest possible moment. Several questions were asked at the end of the meeting. New members were made, and a good collection taken. A Public Meeting on Proportional Representation will be held on April 12th.

HASTINGS.

At a recent Committee Meeting, held at Mrs. Strickland's, it was decided to hold a Public Meeting on Penal Reform at the Town Hall, Hastings, on Tuesday, March 30th, at 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Rev. S. H. Wing, of Rye, and a speaker from the Penal Reform League. The Indian Postess, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, is back in England, and it is hoped that she will be able to fulfil a long-promised visit to Hastings next month.

PORTSMOUTH.

A Jumble Sale has been arranged for Saturday, March 27th, in the Library at the Unitarian Chapel, High Street, at 3 p.m. We shall be glad for helpers to come at 2 p.m. Parcels may be left at 17, Duncan Road, by kind permission of Mrs. Speck. Gratefully acknowledged: Election Fund—Mrs. Abbott, £1 10s.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE SETTLEMENT,

93, NINE ELMS LANE, S.W. 8.

Acknowledged with thanks: Towels from Mrs. Delbanco, children's clothes from Mrs. Brown (per Miss Greenville), flowers from Miss Riggall, flowers from Miss M. Cole, household linen from Mrs. Northcroft, jumble goods per Miss Greenville, linen from Mrs. Despard.

MINERVA CLUB HOUSE-WARMING.

A few tickets still remain for the Dinner and House-warming at the Minerva Club, Brunswick Square, on Saturday evening, March 20th, at 7 p.m. They may be obtained at this office, or from Miss E. Mitchell, at the Club. Members and friends of the Women's Freedom League are asked to come in their numbers on Saturday evening so as to give the new venture a hearty send-off. The House-warming will also provide opportunities for information about the Social Club, and its conditions of membership.

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER.

Speaking at the Minerva Café last Wednesday, on the above subject, Miss Jessie March told her audience she had been living with unmarried mothers for the last five years. There had been a time, she said, when we could trace the unmarried mother from one definite section of society, but to-day they came from all sections—upper, lower, and middle-class homes. It was impossible to accuse individuals of fostering immorality when all they sought was to provide humane conditions for the treatment of unmarried mothers. The Home at Bournemouth, in which Miss March was specially interested, was on very different lines to the barrack-like Penitentiaries of former days, where forbidding texts lined the walls, and everything was done to cow the spirits of so-called fallen girls. Why had not similar Penitentiaries been erected for men likewise? There was only one text at Bournemouth, and that was in the sick room—"He shall gather the lambs in his arms."

It was the great "afterwards" which formed the real problem in the case of the unmarried mother. The chief remedy was not to separate the child from its mother. The adoption of illegitimate children was not to be recommended, for one could never guarantee that such children would not develop bad qualities later. A second fall on the part of a woman was much rarer when she was allowed to retain possession of her baby. Miss March advocated a hostel for unmarried mothers in every town, part of the expenses of which to be met by the Government. These should be run by experienced people, nurses and social workers, not by amateurs. An experimental hostel on these lines was now being tried in Bournemouth. Many unmarried girls became mothers through sheer ignorance. She had unmarried girl mothers at Bournemouth as young as 14; and in no single case did these girls really understand the facts of life, or had had definite teaching from their relatives. It was impossible to impart this knowledge satisfactorily in schools. The parents were the best teachers of such matters. These girls needed help for a good while before the birth of their children, and a good while afterwards.

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT FUND.

We must have Women in Parliament, and if we want them we must send them there. The best of Candidates cannot do everything. Election expenses have to be met and they are very heavy. Remember it takes several hundred pounds to run one election, but it has to be done. I must therefore call upon you who understand our aims and read our paper to send me your contribution (as much and as often as possible) so that our special Women in Parliament Fund will be all ready for immediate use.

E. KNIGHT,

Women's Freedom League,
144, High Holborn,
London, W.C.1.

Hon. Treasurer.

FRIDAY,
MARCH 19,
1920.

THE VOTE

ONE
PENNY
WEEKLY.

Organ of the Women's Freedom League.

NURSING PAGEANT.

To Celebrate the passing of the Nurses' Registration Acts.

Much interest is being taken in the Nursing Pageant which the Royal British Nurses' Association is planning to hold in the Wharnclyffe Rooms, Great Central Hotel, Marylebone Road, London, W., on the evening of Thursday, April 15th, under the patronage of Her Royal Highness Princess Christian, President of the Association, who intends to be present. Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice, the Princess Arthur of Connaught, Princess Helena Victoria, and Princess Marie Louise, who take a deep interest in trained nursing, head the list of Vice-Presidents.

The idea of the Pageant is to demonstrate the Evolution of Trained Nursing, and the right of Life to Health, and the central figure will be Hygeia, Goddess of Health, before whom will pass in stately array, saintly and notable men and women of bygone days; as well as modern Matrons and Nurses under the banners "Education," "Nursing and the Community," and "State Registration," for it is to celebrate the passing of the Nurses' Registration Acts that the Pageant is being organised.

Tickets, for which early application should be made, as they are strictly limited in number, can be obtained from the Secretary of the Royal British Nurses' Association, 10, Orchard Street, London, W.1. Price (including refreshments), £1 is. and 10s. 6d.; for members of the nursing profession, 5s. each.

ELEPHANT TIME.

Spring is coming, and in his train many other events. The busy housewife discovers that, when turning out rooms and cupboards, she has stored up innumerable things as treasures, to be used "sometime or another," and now they have turned out to be "white elephants" that are an encumbrance. Now, we of the Women's Freedom League are extremely glad to relieve you, dear readers, of all your white elephants (men are included, of course, in the "dear readers"—in fact, they are quite as important where white elephants are concerned as women). We hope to acquire a splendid animal of the species and place him in the corridor of our offices; he is not simply there for you to gaze at, but he is there to beg you to bring every white elephant you possess—in fact, to urge you to start a white elephant hunt. The wink in his eye means "I KNOW you've got 'em!" We accept books, clothing, china, boots, gentlemen's and ladies' clothing, in fact, everything that you will send us. The Sale of your white elephants will be announced in a later issue, but please let us have them soon. The money raised goes for THE VOTE, our excellent little paper.

Kindly address your parcels to—

Mrs. McLeod, Women's Freedom League,
144, High Holborn, W.C. 1.

Clara Reed's Studio of Voice Production and Public Speaking.

Patron: Miss Edith Craig.

Special classes on Tuesday evenings at the Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. Greek Drama (Ladies only), 6-7.30. Teachers: Miss Clara Reed and Miss Maie Hoey. Fee, 30s. per term. Public Speaking, 7.30-9.30. Teacher: Miss Clara Reed. Fee, 21s. per term. The course in Public Speaking is especially adapted to Ladies and Gentlemen interested in political and educational work. It includes Voice Production, Deportment, Impromptu and Prepared Speeches—their Construction and Delivery, etc. Term commences January 20th. For syllabus or interview write: Miss Clara Reed, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

BRITAIN AND INDIA MAGAZINE,

Edited by Mrs. Josephine Ransom. A unique and popular Monthly Magazine containing articles of real value to all who realise the vital necessity of encouraging the varied and mutual interest of Britain and India. The Magazine has already an international circulation. Annual subscription 13/6 post free. Single copies 1/- or 1/1½ post free.—7, Southampton St., High Holborn, W.C.1.

The Minerva Pen. Unleakable. Gold Nib.

If you have been worried by pens that leaked and lobbed and required to be carried upright, and unscrewed to fill and joggled to start, the Minerva Pen will be a revelation to you.

It may be carried full of ink upside down or anyhow, it cannot fail to write instantly in demand, and it is filled in a flash without unscrewing any part.

Prices, 7/6 to £2 2s.

THE IDEAL PRESENT.

To be obtained from the Minerva Publishing Co., 44, High Holborn, W.C.

64-PAGE BOOK ABOUT HERBS AND HOW TO USE THEM. 2d. Send for one.—TRIMNELL, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond Road, Cardiff. Established 1879.

MEMBER W.F.L. offers voluntary help Suffrage Society (Copying, Sewing), if materials and postage supplied. Miss HOLMES, Selbannuh, Braintree.

WANTED.—Costumes, coats, furs, underwear, gentlemen's and children's clothing, house furnishings. Specially good prices given.—HELENE, 5, Hanover Road, Scarborough.

Prepaid Classified Advertisements.

Number of Words.	Once.		Three Times.		Six Times.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
20	1	6	4	0	7	6
30	2	3	6	3	12	0
40	3	0	8	6	16	0

Displayed Advertisements,
8/- per Inch.

LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

HOME School on Progressive Thought Lines: Large Garden; Cricket Field; Sea Bathing; Small Classes; Special care given to backward and delicate girls; Coaching for advanced pupils. Principal: Miss RICHARDSON, B.A.

BUSY Women requiring Rest will find comfortable Board-Residence at Miss TURNER'S, "Sea View," Victoria Rd., Brighton. Early Dinner. Tel. Brighton 1702.

Just facing the W.F.L. is the

CAMEO CORNER,

With its wonderful selection of Barbaric Beads, lovely Pebbles, Engraved Gems, and all sorts of things for the most refined Tastes.



Selections sent on approval to all parts of the country. Please mention "THE VOTE."

GOOD'S CAMEO CORNER,

1, New Oxford Street, W.C. 1.

Suffrage Health Food Stores,

231a, The Arcade, Linthorpe Road, Middlesbrough

BUY OUR GOODS & HELP THE MOVEMENT.

Send for New List. Carriage Paid on orders over £1. Large Stock of Vegetarian and other Health Foods.

THE HANDICRAFTS,

82 HIGH STREET, HAMPSTEAD, N.W. 3.

Handweavings, Leatherwork, Jewellery, Basket-Work, Hand-made Lace, Pottery, etc.

COLOURED HAND-WEAVEN COTTONS from 4/- per yard

PATTERNS OF MATERIALS SENT FREE ON APPLICATION.

POTTERY PACKED AND DISPATCHED.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY.

68 UPPER STREET, N.

Mr. GHODWICK BROWN, Surgeon Dentist,

M. Fredk. G. Boucher, Assistant Dental Surgeon.
Established 35 Years.

Gas Administered Daily by Qualified Medical Man, Fee 7s. 6d. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical Work in all its Branches. Send Postcard for Pamphlet. N.B.—No Showcase at door. CONSULTATIONS FREE. Telephone: 3795 North.