

THE VOTE,
DECEMBER 21, 1917.
ONE PENNY.

The House of Lords and the People's Bill.

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

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FRIDAY, DEC. 21, 1917

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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OUR PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

BELFAST, Dec. 20th, 1917.

DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW MEMBERS,

The strenuousness of life at the present moment, and the many calls made upon me, have prevented me of late from taking the part that I have taken formerly in this little organ of ours, THE VOTE, through which we are able to communicate one with the other. I am, therefore, taking the opportunity now of assuring you that my love for our League and my interest in all that concerns it are as great as ever.

There is much to make us sad at the close of this terrible year. Many of us have suffered irreparable loss; many more are weighed down with anxiety. Moreover, as regards those matters which lie outside our own particular work, there are—and at such a time this is inevitable—great differences of thought and opinion. All the more must we rejoice that we have been able to hold together and to carry on the work for which we exist as a League.

In a late issue we were reminded that our League was ten years old; and most of us, I think, were touched, and even thrilled, by the record of our activities given by one of our early members—herself a stalwart. And this year, with all its fears and sorrows, will ever be remembered in the history of our movement and in the annals of democracy as the date of the first true People's Representation Bill that has ever been passed by the House of Commons. What it means, or how it may develop, for ourselves and the nation it is impossible for us to predict. What we do know is that but for the energy of our propagandum before the war, but for our determination in placing this one aim before us, the outbreak

of war would have found us a disorganised mob, to be drilled into use, to be forced into service; but of no account in the future. Therefore, we may rejoice: we may take to ourselves the comfort of knowing that the toil and energy, the sacrifice and suffering, the surrender even to that of life itself by brave women in our movement, have not been in vain; and we may go forward with hope.

Save for this, the year closes darkly. We had hoped, when 1917 opened, that before its close the spirit of sanity would have descended upon the nations, and this awful slaughter of brother by brother, with all the nameless horrors of war, would have ceased.

That was not to be. We enter upon another year of conflict. None the less—nay, all the more—is it our resolve to keep our flag flying, and so to be organised and ready for service when the hour for reconstruction comes.

Friends and fellow-members, at the dawn of this new year, so momentous to the world, I greet you. With all my heart I thank you for your love of our common cause, for your steadfastness, for your devotion. While the year is still young we hope to meet in council, and as great decisions will have to be taken then, I hope you are all thinking of it and preparing for it.

To each of you individually, and to the League which binds us together, I send my love and best wishes.

Specially would I thank those who are keeping our VOTE going so finely.

Yours in the cause of women, which is, indeed, that of humanity,
C. DESPARD.

Women's Freedom League

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



DARE TO BE FREE.

Friday, January 4.—Clapham Branch Meeting, 46, Lynette-avenue (by kind permission of Mrs. Samuel), 7 p.m.

Sunday, January 6.—Drawing-room Meeting, 6, Cathcart-hill, Junction-road, 3.30 p.m. Miss Nina Boyle on "What I Saw in Macedonia."

Wednesday, January 16.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C., 3 p.m. Speaker: Miss Nina Boyle.

Saturday, February 23.—Women's Freedom League Conference.

PROVINCES.

Wednesday, January 2.—Portsmouth, Suffrage Rooms, 2, Kent-road. Public Meeting, 3 p.m. Speaker: Miss E. F. Maynard. "Art and the Women's Movement." Chair: Mrs. Whetton. Members' Meeting, 4.15.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

The offices of the Women's Freedom League and the Minerva Publishing Company will be closed from Friday, December 21, at 5 p.m., until Thursday, December 27, 9.30 a.m.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE PEOPLE'S BILL.

Lord Peel's eloquence on behalf of the ladies, in introducing the People's Bill into the House of Lords, did not, as so gallant and cordial an effort might have been expected to do, disarm criticism. The "nuptial gift" of the vote, to which he so pleasantly referred, does not appeal to some of the less generous minds in that select assembly; and the opposition to women's suffrage appeared really to be more ingrained in titled than in less exalted individuals. It would be difficult even for Mr. Arnold Ward to parallel the virulence of Lord Bryce. There is no stale old trash he did not trot out, no anti-suffrage inaccuracy he did not elaborate. From the egregious and well-worn propositions that women are "not a class" and are "represented" by the men of their class, and that the interests of the men of those classes were not opposed to the interests of the women; to the monstrous statements that there was no special injustice to women under our laws, and that no laws to improve the conditions of women had been the result of women's suffrage in the States and the Overseas Dominions—a declaration so audacious as to leave one breathless—he ranged up and down the gamut of ignorance and prejudice, leaving one with a feeling of consternation that such a man with such a mind should ever have been entrusted with affairs of public importance. We congratulate him, however, on one piece of sweet reasonableness, that he appears willing to give the vote to the 77 peeresses who memorialised the House of Lords.

Lord Sydenham ran Lord Bryce pretty close, both in prejudice and inaccuracy. The measure of his capacity for judgment is to be found in the words, "When war broke out I think we all believed this question (women's suffrage) was dead." The measure of his logic is to be found in his approval

that the franchise should be granted to "all the men who have saved the Empire"; but that "it would be an insult to British women to suppose that they expected to be paid for their services by the grant of the franchise." His accuracy is exhibited by this allusion to the United States. "In America, excluding the State of New York, which I believe has recently decided in favour of women having the vote, 14 States have refused the suffrage to women, and two, Montana and Nevada, have granted it." We can safely leave that monumental piece of idiocy to the verdict of the woman voter.

Lord Salisbury's objections to the Bill were mainly based on the absence of proportional representation and the power of the Sinn Féin vote. It is true he alluded to women as a "dangerous subject," but added there "was no reason why we should not trust the women. They belong to the same race, and have no doubt (the italics are ours) the same instincts." But of working men he said, enthusiastically, "They argue out of the same block (as the other classes). They have the same instinct and the same high quality. I am willing to trust them." Suffragists, note the difference!

We congratulate Lords Peel, Burnham, and Russell on the notable contributions made by them to this discussion. The first-named nobleman did all that man can do to introduce the Bill in an atmosphere of fairness and good feeling. The other two made speeches of remarkable quality, containing phrases that will not pass from our minds, even when the fight is over. Lord Burnham's description of the Speaker's Conference, "not an inspired body, though in its reconciliation of extremes it became in the end an inspiring one," whose aim had been "to effect a national settlement that would leave no sting or sore behind it," warms our hearts; and Lord Russell, in describing the vote as "for the protection of the State, in order that through the ballot-box the State may learn from the organised opinion of those who have grievances what those grievances are . . . a substitute for riot, revolution, and the rifle," touched a high level of statesmanship. We shall not forget this, the first serious debate in the House of Lords on the question of women's suffrage in a Bill that has a chance of passing into law. C. N. B.

Debate in the House of Lords.

VISCOUNT PEEL (Joint Parliamentary Secretary of the National Service Department), introducing the Bill on December 11:

The basis of the qualification for women is wholly different from that of men. In order to be registered as a Parliamentary voter a woman must either be the wife of a man entitled to be registered as a local government voter, or she must be entitled in her own right to be so registered. She must have no legal incapacity, and must be of the mature age of thirty. Thus for the most part in these electoral matters we follow the ancient precedent of Genesis. The newly-enfranchised woman springs from the rib of electoral man. Or, again, you may say that a local government voter has this great advantage over other suitors, that he can offer as a nuptial gift not only the honourable estate of matrimony but also the Parliamentary vote. It is estimated that some six million women will be enfranchised under the Bill—five millions as wives of voters and one million in their own right.

We take the following extracts from the debate on the Second Reading:

Lord PARMOOR: I trust that the House will not reject the Second Reading of the Bill. . . . I think that for anybody of His Majesty's subjects to feel a resentment at the fact that they are excluded from their due share in the government of the country is a bad thing in itself.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I understand that six million women's votes will be added to the register. It is a very formidable increase, and it must be admitted that the woman suffrage question differs from man suffrage in this particular, that the increase in the case of the men is, after all, only an increase of degree. It is only a difference of degree in the old suffrage. But woman suffrage will be a difference in kind; and I cannot conceal from myself, my lords, that this great change is proposed in a Parliament

which, according to the current phrase of the day, has no mandate for woman suffrage.

Viscount BRYCE, who devoted his speech to the case against woman suffrage, said: We do not even know whether women desire the suffrage. It seems to me very doubtful, whether, if the question were left to a popular vote of all the women in the country, the change would be carried. . . . I am not aware that the law now makes any distinction whatever between the wages of men and of women, or makes any distinction between the rights of men's unions and the rights of women's unions, or that there is anything in law which in any respect prejudices, as far as wages are concerned, the right of women to get whatever wage they can. If there is, by all means let us be told of such an injustice, and let it be remedied. . . . I frankly admit that if it could be shown to us that women at present are unfairly dealt with by the general law of the land, that there are grievances from which they suffer in comparison with men which the law inflicts or permits, then there is a strong case for giving them a better condition.

Nobody discourages the intelligence of women. Nobody says that women have less, or ought to have less, interest in the welfare of the country. All we say is that the conditions of their life are so altogether different that it is not possible for them to acquire the same knowledge, to have the same practice and aptitude to understand questions, so well as their husbands and fathers and brothers are able to do. They do not move about in the world as men move about. They do not meet and talk; they do not attend meetings; they do not read newspapers, as we all know, in the way in which men do. I do not deny, of course, that women do read newspapers to some extent. But we all know that heading in a newspaper which is generally put in type as "The Woman's World." . . . Everybody knows that we should be only too happy to enfranchise those 500 or 600 ladies who have signed the memorial presented to your lordships' House, and the tens of thousands of other women who have equal knowledge of public affairs. If we could give the vote to those tens of thousands without giving it also to the millions who do not possess their knowledge and fitness, I am sure we should all be happy to do so; but to give it to six or eight millions of voters, to give it to 95 per cent. of the women of this country for the sake of the 5 per cent. whom we admit to be fully qualified, would surely be a very bold step. . . . How will they vote? They will be got at by the Party organisations. Not having any opinions of their own, they will be easy victims of any representation which is made to them. The organisations and the party machines will look to it. These organisations, these party machines for bringing up voters, are, as we all know, inevitable; but the man voter is not so easily got at by the organisations. . . . If you compare the American States that have woman suffrage with those which do not have it, the laws for the protection of women are no better in the States where the women vote than they are in the States where they do not vote. . . . Curiously enough, the results in New Zealand are just the same. There has been no more legislation for the benefit of women in New Zealand. . . . I venture respectfully to submit that no great and ancient nation, with a complicated civilisation like ours, not even France, the home of abstract ideas, has ever yet tried this bold experiment, and no sufficient reason has been shown why we, with all the large and difficult problems, national and Imperial, that now confront us, should without any expression of the people's will, be the first great nation to launch out into what is for us a wide and uncharted sea.

Lord SYDENHAM: No great country has ever granted women the suffrage except revolutionary Russia. . . . There is not a shred of evidence before us that the majority of men or of women desire this fundamental change in the Constitution. If any body of individuals has a right to advise in determining this question it is the men who have fought and suffered for their country, and we have no means whatever of knowing what their opinions are. . . . The admission of 6,000,000 women must within a very few years entail, by the political processes with which we are so familiar, the vote for all adult women, and then women would command an enormous majority in determining the destinies of our Empire. Could such a triumph of feminism be a real national advantage? Are women really fit to govern a great Empire such as ours? One immediate effect would be to add very largely to the forces of Socialism which will ruin any industrial or commercial State which submits to their operation.

Earl RUSSELL: Why cannot the argument for women be based upon the simplest and most straightforward reason—the reason that they are human beings; not that they are a special class, not that they will be able to uplift our politics, but simply that they are human beings; and if the franchise is a weapon that they need for their self-defence and for the protection of their interests and of their labour, women need it just as much as men. . . . We grant the vote for what is much more important than that—namely, for the protection of the State, in order that through the ballot-box the State may learn, from the organised opinion of those who have grievances and who desire their remedy, what those grievances are. I suggest that the vote is granted

nowadays on no kind of fitness, but as a substitute for riot, revolution, and the rifle. We grant the suffrage in order that we may learn in an orderly and civilised manner what the people who are governed want. . . . Many of your lordships have conducted contested elections, and you know very well—nobody knows better than those who have conducted contested elections—that grievances which have not the pressure of the vote behind them can be and are disregarded by candidates. . . . That women will always vote wisely I do not for a moment suggest. Do all men vote wisely? What opportunities of political education have women had in the past? For the noble Viscount to say that women do not meet, and do not talk, and do not agitate—I wonder where he has spent his days. Women, on the other hand, are very persistent, and will be undoubtedly very uproarious if they suffer any longer. . . . But the groundwork of the argument for giving votes to women is not that they will vote this way or that, but simply because they are human beings. If you wish to give women a real opportunity of protecting themselves in connection with the grievances from which they suffer, the franchise is the proper way of doing it.

Peeresses and the Bill.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have sent the following memorial in favour of Clause 4, which extends the franchise to women, to the Lord Chancellor and the peers of the realm:—

We, the undersigned women, who, with many thousands of others, have welcomed the opportunity of working for our country in time of war, profoundly hope that your lordships will accept those clauses of the Representation of the People Bill which enfranchise a certain number of women. We do not presume the rights of citizenship by virtue of service rendered, at the time when the service of death has dwarfed all other effort. Our claim is based rather upon future needs and upon the practical urgency of representing women's interests and experience in the task of social healing and industrial reconstruction which must follow the conclusion of peace. We, therefore, venture to press this view during the present time of national stress, in the belief that the Speaker's Conference report offers a unique opportunity for ending a bitter controversy in an atmosphere of good will.

The long list of representative women who have signed the memorial includes the following seventy-seven peeresses:—

DUCHESSSES.—Somerset, Bedford, and Marlborough.
 MARCHIONESSES.—Headfort, Londonderry, and Ormonde.
 COUNTESSSES.—Denbigh, Galloway, Lauderdale, Meath, Kintore, Dunmore, Aylesford, Tankerville, Egmont, Bessborough, Portsmouth, Carrick, Hardwicke, Clarendon, Mayo, Clonmell, Cadogan, Donoughmore, Onslow, Normanton, Lonsdale, Verulam, Yarborough, Gainsborough, Cairns, Lytton, Selborne, and Brassey.

VISCOUNTESSES.—Downe, Middleton, Hood, Templetown, Hill, Wolsley, Esher, Goschen, Churchill, and Comdray.

LADIES.—Willoughby de Broke, Balfour of Bursleigh, Forester, Barnard, Hawke, Kilmaine, Rendlesham, Manners, Rayleigh, Bateman, Sudeley, Seaton, Rathdonnell, Lawrence, Wolverton, Harlech, Lamington, Trevor, Elphinstone, Montague of Beaulieu, Hindlip, Playfair, Heneage, Cranworth, Glanusk, Barrymore, Armstrong, Dunedin, Leith and Lyne, Southwark, Aberconway, Emmott, and Rhondda.

SHAMEFUL!

The *Star* Southend correspondent wires:—
 "This morning Mr. J. Harrison, secretary of the local branch of the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Soldiers and Sailors, waited on the deputy-mayor with reference to women being still employed by the Corporation—especially on the trams—when so many discharged soldiers are still in need of work.

"The answer was that the matter should be considered. So far no other answer has been received, and to-morrow morning it was proposed, with the assistance of the men drivers, to attend the Corporation depot at 9.30, when the cars leave.

"All the men drivers, it was arranged, would be allowed to proceed, but the women drivers would have to break a cordon. Mr. Harrison, however, has since heard that the women are to have a holiday to-day."

THE VOTE.

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FRIDAY, December 21st, 1917.

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

Telephone: MUSEUM 1429.
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EDITORIAL.

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

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AGENTS.

International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke-street, Charing Cross, W.C.; Messrs. Horace Marshall and Co., Temple-avenue, E.C.; City and Suburban Publishing Company, St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; E. Marlborough, Old Bailey, E.C.; A. Ritchie, Pemberton-row, Gough-square, E.C.; Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Orange-street, Haymarket; John Heywood, Manchester. Can be obtained at the Book-stalls of Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son and all newsagents.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.

Christmas will not be "merry" Christmas this year. It is the "festive season" no longer. The sad years of war have multiplied the vacant places, and piled up sorrow and anxiety and suspense, until at times that were once chartered seasons of festivity, the thoughts and memories that oppress us become almost too heavy to be borne. And this year another shadow is slowly casting its gloom, bit by bit, encroachingly—in official warnings, in incidents of daily life, in the facts that meet us here and there—the gaunt shadow of food scarcity, the shadow of famine.

Economy and Christmas are not words that harmonise. Our Christmas seasons have always, in a way, been associated with feasting and with plenty. They have, in sober fact, been orgies of wastefulness. The over-word to-day is economy, and all but the most feckless and the most unteachable will understand its necessity. That understanding, however, will be coupled with another understanding, and that is what we owe to the people who have brought this dread thing about.

In February, 1915, the attention of the Government was called very pointedly to the rising price of foods, and the growing scarcity of sugar in particular. A debate was arranged for in the House of Commons, and the Prime Minister was to make a statement. The causes of the rising prices were supposed to be, in the main, profiteering; but the question of freightage was also known to be serious. The Prime Minister was informed during that debate that British shipping firms were selling British ships to neutrals owing to the inflated prices offered for even the oldest ships, and that British tonnage was to an overwhelming extent conveying foodstuffs to neutral ports because of profits which were bloated to the extent of 900 per cent. The Prime Minister's answer to the House and the country was that things had been worse in 1870, and would be better in June.

The Women's Freedom League took part at that time in an agitation to secure some adequate intervention to protect the people's food; but very little support was forthcoming. Certain measures were taken by Mr. Runciman to deal with the sugar trouble, and these measures prevented a serious short-

age, while they did not check the rising prices. The present Prime Minister was a prominent member of that careless Government. What did he and his present colleagues do to bring home to the Government of 1915 their responsibility in such a matter?

In November, 1914, the scandalous wastage of good food in the military camps and other centres roused widespread attention. Not only were the supplies excessive and often unsuitable, but cart-loads of good wholesome food found their way to the swill-tubs, or were buried or burnt or thrown into the sea—rather than commit the unpardonable crime of giving "Government property" to the poor and needy—and the Women's Freedom League made itself responsible for the statement that if this country were ever reduced to the same straits for food as Germany it would be this kind of dealing with food supplies that would bring us to it.

The Women's Freedom League in 1914 made an offer to the Government to take over one camp and show what economies could be effected. The War Office refused the offer. More than a year later the Women's Legion was asked to come in and help stem the raging flood of waste.

Now we are being lectured and admonished and talked to as if it had been the public's responsibility, the public's wilfulness and recklessness, which had brought about the situation, which is beyond measure serious. It is time, we of the Women's Freedom League are thinking, that the public did, indeed, take charge of the situation and tell the Government with no uncertain voice what it intends to have done.

At a time when every ounce of energy is supposed to be required of us, at a time when all health and all that may conduce to health should be most carefully husbanded, we see those weary, waiting crowds of disheartened people standing in rain and wind, in steadily growing discouragement. Workers worn by the day's toil, mothers with poor little wailing babes, children from school who should be refreshing mind and muscle with some better and fitter form of exercise—all wearing out temper and patience and hope, a dead loss of morale as well as physical strength—that is, indeed, and in fact, national waste; waste of time, of energy, of spirit, and of goodwill. Nothing could be more disastrous than to allow these great national assets to leak away in avoidable suffering and discontent outside the grocery stores on the greasy winter pavements. We register our protest against the muddle, the disloyal muddle, which has enabled this danger to be added to the many which threaten us to-day; and we point out that the Government, as well as the public, has a duty to the country, and needs reminding of it.

And as if it were not enough to have the mismanagement, the discomfort, and the anxiety—besides the shortage—the Government takes advantage of the misfortunes its own want of foresight has brought upon us, to force on us an infinite variety of inquisitorial classifications, all of which palpably have to do with some ulterior motive. The impertinent and irrelevant nature of these classifications is startling; and one can only wonder what it is these dishonest servants of the public would be at. It would appear on the surface as if a great underground movement were afoot to mine and destroy the freedom from ticketing and docketing that, so far, in distinction from many of the systems in vogue on the Continent, has been the feature of British life. We would like to know what view the official Labour Party takes of these inquisitions, and what line it intends to take in the future as to sweeping them away. For us, we can state in the most resolute and unflinching manner that we shall demand the instantaneous obliteration, on the signing of

the peace treaties, of all these ticket-of-leave abominations, from the war service and national registration records onwards.

In the meantime, things having been allowed to get to their present state, it were well that the public should face the situation bravely, as well as grapple with it boldly. It is not enough to blame the Government: that is an easy job, goodness knows; but it will not carry us far. While remembering, and never allowing ourselves to forget, who it is we have to thank for the present state of affairs, we must think of and for each other. Christmas should be the season of goodwill towards men; and although the clash of arms and the bloodstained struggle still resounds through Europe, we can at least display our goodwill towards each other within our own dominions. If each one thinks that any waste or excess or greed or exercise of personal influence in obtaining supplies will make the burden of want press more heavily on some less fortunate or less sturdy pair of shoulders, we shall surely refrain from all these unsocial forms of action; and so shall we, indeed, be helping to bear one another's burdens.

C. NINA BOYLE.

"THE FARE MOTHER."

We had been talking of the effect of war work on women. At least the men had, and I had been listening. Mr. Smith said that though it was very fine of them and all that, it was already making them masculine and aggressive; and my man mourned the loss of the beautiful maternal spirit which he said he noticed on all sides.

Then they passed each other the matches and puffed out great clouds of smoke, and after a bit seemed more resigned. But I felt alarmed! *Did* men's work have a deteriorating effect on women? If so it looked as if we were in for a bad time, for they were certainly going to have to do it for some time yet apparently. And if the maternal instinct disappeared! . . . I shuddered.

The next night I rode home in "Ethel's" 'bus, and I've felt better ever since.

It poured with rain, and the wind blew in nasty, vicious, little gusts. I was struggling to get my umbrella down before I got in, when I found it taken out of my hand.

"You get inside; I'll see after this. There you are! Go in' to Croydon, are you? Then I'd sit up at the far end if I was you, and you'll be out of the way of the crowd when we fill up."

Heavy chunks of fair hair bulged from under her ugly peaked cap and framed a plump little face, in which a pair of deep-set blue eyes twinkled. She stood about five feet one, and looked, at a generous estimate, twenty-two or twenty-three.

She followed me along the 'bus and peered through the rain-blurred window.

"There! After all I said to him!"

Perching on her little tin box of tickets she brought her face on a level with the narrow slit over the middle panel.

"Jerry, put that mackintosh over you before we start. You'll be drenched through if you don't."

Gazing interestedly through the window I saw the driver, a burly, tanned giant, crinkle his face into a grin.

"Oh, I'm aw'right," he shouted back.

"Do as I tell you, now," she commanded, sternly.

The sudden start we made threw her into my lap.

"I didn't know your duties included mothering the driver," I said, as I laughingly removed her.

"Well, o' course they don't, strictly speakin'. But did you ever know a man that didn't want looking after like a child? That driver was off two days

last week with an awful cold, and just look at him now—sittin' through a storm like this an' nothin' over his knees. If he don't do as I tell him, I'll tuck him up myself when we get to Piccadilly Circus!"

I must admit I felt disappointed when I saw him get up presently and wrap himself leisurely in a glistening black cloth. He had evidently decided that obedience was the better part of valour.

Two boys, one in khaki and one who ought to have been, entered at the next stop, and took seats near the door. They had obviously been celebrating an event of some kind—the civilian more heartily than Tommy.

"Fares, please."

"'Llo, Ethel! Nice evenin', I don't think," said the civilian, tendering a coin.

"Where d'yer want to go? This is a shilling."

"'Eaven!" answered the civilian, promptly.

He broke into song. "I want to go to 'eaven, and with the angels stand."

"Don't look as if you'd make a successful job o' standing anywhere just now," answered Ethel, imperturbably. She turned to his friend. "Where does he want to go?"

"We both want Brixton please, Miss. Don't take any notice of 'im."

"Oh, no; only —" (as she stumbled over an outstretched foot) "if he does that again he won't get there as soon as you, for he'll walk; that's all."

An elderly working man and a little girl got on in the Kennington-road. The latter, a thin, white-faced child of about ten, looked tired and sleepy in the dim light.

"Time little girls like you was in bed," said Ethel, as she punched the ticket asked for. "'Ere, come up to the end next this lady, you'll be warmer."

The workman took out a short pipe, fingered it lovingly, scowled, and then expectorated with sudden, challenging fierceness.

Ethel looked round sharply.

"None of that," she said, warningly. "It's not allowed, an' you know it."

"Mind yer own business," he growled. "I'll do what I bloomin' well like! You wimmen got yer blarsted heads turned nowadays. Takin' men's pay, an' I dunno what all. I wish the whole blarsted lot of yer was —" He repeated the offence with added emphasis.

"You do that agen, an' I'll pitch you out!"

A little red hand gratefully touched the khaki sleeve.

"It's all right, Tommy. Thank you very much, but I can manage, my dear."

Tommy gasped at the matronly form of address, grinned bashfully, and subsided into his seat again.

"I'm sure I wish you *could* have your pipe," she went on, plaintively, "because I know in less than two minutes you'd be as right as right. Simply amazin' what a smoke will do. I've often been tempted to take to it meself. This life's more wearin' than you'd think for." She sighed ostentatiously.

"Don't you never do that, my gell," advised the disgruntled one, with unexpected friendliness. "You'll never git a 'usband if yer do. Lor', if you're all goin' to take to pipes as well as uniforms, we shan't 'ave nothin' left. There, we're all 'appy

Wilderness Love Songs.

A Gift Book of Unique Poems

BY

MARY RALEIGH RICHARDSON

(Author of "Symbol Songs").

HEADLEY BROS., Kingsway House, London, W.C.2

now, ain't we, young 'un?" He pinched the cheek of the child next me. "Are you on leaf, my lad, or 'aven't you smelt powder yet?"

The friendly conversation that ensued lasted until we got to Brixton. Here Tommy woke up his friend, who had slumbered peacefully from Charing Cross, and bade us a genial "So-long."

"Good-night an' good luck," said Ethel. "I'd take that young man who wants to be an angel straight home if I was you, or p'raps he'll land in the other place."

She turned to the child, who was waiting to get out, and helped her carefully on to the pavement.

"Take care you don't lose your way in the dark, ducky. If you ain't sure, ask a p'liceman—he'll look after you all right."

A crowd swarmed in, and I nodded drowsily in the stuffy atmosphere until I was roused by their wholesale departure at West Croydon. Then I left my corner and took a seat near the door.

"Oh, yes, I like the work very much," she said, in answer to my question as she lolled sociably against the door-post. "Well, yes, I think I will come in and sit down as there's no more passengers comin' apparently. Of course, it all depends on the public what sort of a time you have. But there, as I tell the others when they grouse sometimes, the public's like a looking-glass—shows you the same face you show it. What you want is tack, then you get on all right."

She leaned back and shut her eyes a little wearily, but as we jolted up to the terminus she jumped up briskly enough.

"If I was you I should 'ave a good strong cup of tea as soon as I got in. There's nothin' like it for keepin' a cold off. Me? Only wish I could, but we got to go back to Streatham, an' there won't be time. 'Ere, let me put up your umbrella. I shall look out for you again. Amazin' how soon you get to know people who live on the route. Good-night."

Jerry, 'ave you kept that mackintosh round you? Wet? Yes, a bit; but we shall soon be knockin' off now, thank goodness. Don't stand about now, with that cold. Get under cover. . . ."

No, I don't think there's any need to worry. The maternal spirit is not dead yet! M. H.

ON OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

"Divorce and Immorality."
By C. S. BREMNER. With a preface by Sir ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE. (London: Frank Palmer. 1s. net.)

"Do not have two conflicting standards; a high and beautiful standard and an ugly and debasing one for men." These words by the Bishop of Carlisle are the text of the booklet under review, and I gladly quote them, for, in all the efforts made in past times to secure equality of divorce for the two sexes, the Church and its leading representatives have endeavoured to block the path of reform. That a Bishop should champion it is an encouraging sign of the growth of liberality in the Church.

The preface by Sir A. Conan Doyle is interesting, as showing to the stupid opponents of such reform that, while it would facilitate divorce, it does not enforce it; and that a rational divorce law will release potentialities, and not coerce individuals or ruthlessly crush down traditional habits and prejudices. The marriages that are made in heaven will be as sacred and as binding as ever; but those that have made life a hell can be dissolved if the contracting parties so desire.

In a most interesting historic survey of the marriage laws, Miss Bremner shows how ecclesiastical power made great progress at the expense of civil marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—the

contract became a religious obligation, and was generally regarded as absolutely indissoluble. The Reformation restored, to some extent, the civil aspect of wedlock. "Marriage is a worldly thing," said Luther, and he would allow divorce for adultery and desertion. Divorce is in reality a tenet of Protestantism. It must, however, be remembered that in the Church of Rome a valid marriage was largely a matter of chance; and it was always possible for those in high places to prove their marriages invalid if they were uncongenial or inconvenient. The examples of Louis VII., Louis XII., and Henry IV. of France prove this. The Council of Trent, however, definitely declared marriage indissoluble in the middle of the sixteenth century: but the declaration had no bearing upon English law, as Henry VIII. had cast off allegiance to the Papacy many years before. A century after that Council, Milton set up a very effective plea for divorce; yet, at the same time, the Puritan ideal, founded as it was upon a misinterpretation of the Bible, greatly lowered the estimation in which women were held, and Milton, both in prose and verse, contributed not a little to increase the contempt for the sex.

Hence, when the Divorce Law was passed and the Divorce Courts were established in 1858, we find a shocking partiality shown to the male delinquent, and Mr. Gladstone opposed the law on the ground of "its shameless immorality." The book then gives an interesting review of the marriage laws in the sister islands of the United Kingdom, in the British dominions overseas, and in the Continent of Europe, and these accounts should be closely studied, as proving that greater facilities for divorce do not make for immorality. A suggestive chapter on a Court of Conciliation, for the healing of matrimonial disputes, resembling, one would suppose, the Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago, closes the book.

Both the preface and the pamphlet deserve close study, as they deal logically and historically with a very important and a very pressing question, and show a considerate regard for tradition and give conclusive answers to all reasonable opposition.

MARGARET HODGE.

Madame Curie. (St. Catherine's Press, Stamford-street, London, S.E. 1s. net.)

Mrs. Cunningham writes, in reference to the review of "Madame Curie," which appeared in last week's VOTE, to say that Madame Curie was present at the afternoon function when the Royal Society's Medal was handed to Professor Curie; no speeches were made. She was not present at the evening banquet when Professor Curie spoke, and was greeted with great enthusiasm.

THE QUEST OF THE STAR.

Is it not the Star of Woman's Freedom that will lead the nations home?—A SUFFRAGIST.

Through the night of the land of bondage
Where the hoary strongholds are,
Through the jarring of men, of nations,
Through the three red years of war,
By a long road, by a rough road,
We sought the Star.

For the World, with us, was darkened,
And the tribes that clash and jar
Sought, blindly sought, the Mother,
Through many a baffling bar.
For the Man's sake, for the Child's sake,
She sought the Star.

In the shock of the feud, the anguish
Of the wound that left its scar,
In the scorn of the world—its martyrs,
Chained to its conquering car—
We, the Builders; we, the Makers;
Sought, still, the Star.

Near—here—the goal, the glory,
Sought long, how long and far!
O Christ, O born of Woman!
From the fires that sear and char
Breaks the free world, breaks the new world,
That sees the Star!

S. GERTRUDE FORD.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS. THEY SUPPORT US.

WOMEN IN WAR-TIME.

Doctor Honoured by Serbia.

Miss Lina Mary Potter, Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery of the Society of Apothecaries, London, has been granted the Royal permission to wear the insignia of the fifth class of the Order of St. Sava, conferred upon her by the King of Serbia in recognition of her services to the Serbian sick and wounded, under the auspices of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service.

Army Commissions for Women.

Women between the ages of 18 and 35 are eligible for commissions in the Aviation Section of the United States Signal Corps.

According to *The Daily Express*, a special resolution is to be introduced into the United States Congress asking that a commission be given to Miss Ruth Law, the famous aviator. Miss Law, who is an experienced airwoman, will have no difficulty, it is stated, in passing the aviation tests of the American Army, either in straight or trick flying. She is anxious to go to the Front in France.

President of the Russian Peasants' Congress.

Marie Spiridonova, who in 1908 killed a Russian Governor for flogging peasants to death, and herself narrowly escaped death in consequence, but was one of the political prisoners released from Siberia at the beginning of the Revolution last spring, has been elected President of the Russian Peasants' Congress.

Chauffeuse in Japan.

The first woman chauffeuse has just passed her licence examination at Tokyo.

Member of the Hove Town Council.

Mrs. Badcock was elected a member of the Hove Town Council last week. She is the first woman member.

Girl Guides' Field Ambulance.

Princess Mary presented to the War Office a field ambulance which has been purchased by the Girl Guides. This ambulance is in addition to the hut in France which has already been given by the Girl Guides, and purchased with money earned by their own work.

Rest Hut for Women.

A Church Army rest hut for women workers was opened last week at Acton-vale by the Countess of Leitrim, and dedicated by the Bishop of Kensington. The hut, which is one of the largest of its kind, is to be opened for two hours daily during the dinner-hour.

A Welcome Gift.

Miss Talbot, of Margam Abbey, Port Talbot, Glamorgan, has presented £30,000 to the Welsh Medical School, Cardiff, for the foundation of a Chair of Preventive Medicine.

Plucky Munitioneer.

The King, on visiting munition works last week, congratulated a girl, who has been in three separate explosions, on her pluck in returning to the same work.

In the Army Service Corps.

Women have practically replaced soldiers in the forage department of the Army Service Corps.

Vice-Chair of Education Committee.

Lady Betty Balfour has been appointed to the vice-chair of the Woking Education Committee.

Repairers of Motor 'Buses.

Women mechanics are repairing motor 'buses in London garages.

Dr. Garrett Anderson.

All friends of women's freedom will learn with the greatest sorrow and regret of the death at her home at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first medical woman to become qualified in Great Britain, the pioneer of the medical woman. Not content with her own success, she fought a desperate battle for the admission to the profession of women on equal terms with men. A portrait and special article on this champion of women will appear in our next issue. Meanwhile the Women's Freedom League offers deepest sympathy to her daughter, Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson; to her sister, Mrs. Fawcett; and to the other members of her family.

BRANCH NOTES.

Croydon. Office, 32a, The Arcade, High-street.

On December 12 we varied the proceedings of our soldiers' and sailors' wives' social; during the first half-hour Miss Smerdon and two friends entertained by songs and recitations, and many thanks to them; then we held a special jumble sale for those present. Our gifts of goods were smaller than usual, but everyone went away with a parcel of useful articles. On December 15 our social—the first of this season—was most enjoyable. We would specially thank Miss Nina Boyle for her delightful and vivid stories of the life in Macedonia, as seen and studied by her in her recent visit. To Miss Kittie Guthrie, who is not a member of the League, we owe hearty thanks for the excellent orchestra, and concert, which she so ably arranged. To Mrs. Klinje, who was behind the scenes, and, as usual, managed the teas so well, we accord our grateful thanks, which we also extend to her young helpers and all others who assisted in any way to make the social a success. Owing to one or two local events happening on the same afternoon some members and friends were unable to be with us, although they had taken tickets and were expected. On December 21 we are holding a branch meeting to discuss resolutions for the Annual Conference.

Dunfermline.

Our Branch has increased by six members since the return visit to Dunfermline of Miss Belle McLelland, the Scottish organiser. We held a Branch meeting at which Mrs. Beck presided, and Miss McLelland very clearly explained the Representation of the People Bill as it affects women. On November 26, Miss McLelland addressed a very enthusiastic meeting of the Dunfermline Co-operative Women's Guild on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Miss Eunice G. Murray and Mr. Andrew Young, Edinburgh, were the speakers at a Public Meeting held in the Masonic Hall on December 7. Miss McLelland presided. A good collection was taken and three new members joined the Branch. Dunfermline members are greatly indebted to Miss Murray, Mr. Young, and Miss McLelland for their splendid addresses and help.

Women's Freedom League Settlement, 93, Nine Elms-lane, S.W. 8.

The Settlement closes for dinners on Thursday, the 20th, and reopens Friday, January 4. Anyone wishing to begin the New Year well might do worse than promise us an hour or two one day a week to help with the serving of the dinners, for which at least two more regular workers are wanted each day. Time from 11.30 to 1. Donations towards the Christmas dinner have been given by Miss Kearton (10s.), Mrs. Roberts (5s.), Mrs. Fox-Bourne (10s.), Miss Fox-Bourne (10s.), Mrs. Clark (3s. 2½d.), Mrs. Walter Carey (5s.), W. R. Snow, Esq. (£2 2s.), Mrs. Stowe (2s.), Mrs. Williams (10s.), Miss Margaret Kennedy and friends (£1), Dr. R. A. O'Brien (10s.), Miss J. Holford (1s.), and Christmas fruits for the puddings by F. A. Pearce, Esq. Miss Holford has also brought us a golden sovereign from an anonymous friend; T. F. Simmons, Esq. (£1); Mrs. Stirling, Dr. O'Brien, Miss Alix M. Clark, P. H. Miller, Esq., provisions; Mrs. Roberts, Miss Greenville, Mrs. Stirling, Mrs. Lloyd, clothing; Miss Ibbotson, art muslin and decorations; Mrs. Delbanco, a bread knife; Miss Becher, a Christmas gift to the Guest House of a cot coverlet. Three little guests, whose mother cannot leave hospital till after Christmas, will be here during the holidays, and the Milk Depot will also be open.

SEE OUR SALE AND EXCHANGE, PAGE 88.

FRIDAY,
DEC. 21,
1917.

THE VOTE

ONE
PENNY
WEEKLY.

Organ of the Women's Freedom League.

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NEW MUSQUASH TOQUE; 12s. 6d.

NEW WINE COLOUR VELOURS COAT; black caracul collar and cuffs; suit tall lady; 3½ guineas.

NEW BROWN VELVET and GABARDINE COAT FROCK; stock size; 38s. 6d.

LARGE SIZE BLUE CLOTH COAT DRESS; perfect condition; 50s.; cost, 7 guineas.

VERY SUPERIOR NEW REAL SEAL MUSQUASH COAT, with large skunk collar; stock size; this year's pattern; 38 guineas.

NEW SET BLACK FOX FURS; £8 15s.

SPECIAL LINE of new GABARDINE and SILK TAFFETA and VELVET COAT-FROCKS; 38s. 6d.

PAIR of new LACE BOOTS, size 5; 21s.

SEVERAL SILK AND SATIN JUMPERS, fur and embroidery trimming; cheap.

ANTIQUÉ FRENCH CLOCK and ORNAMENTS to match; Derby pattern; £9 the set.

SEVERAL CHILDREN'S DRESSES and COATS; very moderate.

SEVERAL STYLISH VELVET AND VELOUR HATS, at very moderate prices.

COSTUME LENGTH FINE BLACK SERGE, with white stripe; 35s.

FOR SALE—cont.

SET OF BLACK FOX FURS, £3 10s.

NEW AUTOTHERM, in good leather case; £2 8s.

TWO SILK SCARVES; 8s. 6d. and 25s.

PALE PINK, PALE BLUE, and WHITE CREPE-DE-CHINE BLOUSE, 21s.; also Wine Colour, 18s. 6d.

PURE BLACK SILK SPORTS COAT, latest style, worn twice, cost £2 5s.; price 35s.

NEW OLD ROSE SILK SPORTS COAT; 49s. 6d.

TWO NEW OSTRICH FEATHER CAPES, navy and natural; 27s. 6d. each.

WINE VELVET JUMPER, also Green and Blue; 18s. 6d. each.

TWO SOUP LADLES and some FORKS and SPOONS; cheap.

VERY SUPERIOR LONG SEAL MUSQUASH FUR COAT, with whole-skin black fox collar; 25 guineas.

TWO SILK and CHIFFON DINNER DRESSES, geranium and maize; 30s.

VERY FINE IRISH LINEN FIVE O'CLOCK TEACLOTH; hem-stitched, with hand crochet lace, 48½ in.; £2 10s.

VERY SUPERIOR COPPER TEA-KETTLE and SPIRIT-LAMP, £2 10s.; also other copper articles suitable for Christmas presents.

WANTED.

BATH GEYSER, in good condition; state price.—M., c/o "THE VOTE" Office.

MISCELLANEOUS.

GUESTS RECEIVED; manor house, beautiful orchards, tennis, bath (h. and c.), picturesque country, station 1½ miles; from 30s.—BAYLISS, Noke Islip, Oxford.

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.

64-PAGE BOOK ABOUT HERBS AND HOW TO USE THEM, free. Send for one.—TRIMMELL, The Herbalist, 144, Richmond-rd., Cardiff. Est 1879.

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

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED, after Christmas, **TWO LADY-HELPS** for housework and cooking, and to assist with two boys (at school mornings); charwoman weekly; very easy house; electric and gas for cooking and heating.—GAZE, 36, St. John's Wood-road, N.W. 8.

HAMPSTEAD LADY, vegetarian, offers Large Furnished Double-bedded Room and Sitting-room and Kitchen **FREE** in return for service and gas in flat.—Write or call, THE VOTE Office, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

The Articles for Sale are on view at the Minerva Exchange, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1, 10 to 5.30. Saturdays, 10 to 12.

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