

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 305.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1914.

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Bargains in all Departments.

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 15th, 1914.

WHY NOT STEER A STRAIGHT COURSE?



NEPTUNE: "Take my advice, gentlemen, and steer a straight course into port before that cloud bursts and your vessel splits on those rocks."

(The "Nation" says that the refusal of the Liberal Party to "apply its own principles" to woman suffrage "is at present the chief cloud on its horizon." The "Daily News" says—"There are rocks ahead . . . not the least of them the question of the relation of women to the State.")

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

On New Year's Day the Chronicle published an interview with Mr. Lloyd George, in which the Chancellor dealt with a number of current topics, and incidentally with Votes for Women. With his hand metaphorically on his heart, he repeated his personal devotion to the cause, saying that he could not imagine a complete programme of Liberal reforms which left half the citizens unenfranchised; nor was it an arguable proposition that women should not be consulted constitutionally by their votes when questions which concerned them as well as men had to be settled.

An Important Admission

The most important part of Mr. Lloyd George's speech, however, was the admission which followed as to the position of the Liberal Party with regard to this question. He said:— "This conviction (as to the necessity of enfranchising women), I am satisfied, is being held so firmly on some of the best minds in the country, especially among the Progressive forces, that the present position must soon become intolerable for the Liberal party. In other words, Mr. Lloyd George foresees a crisis which will split the Liberal Party soon if they do not put woman enfranchise on their programme.

The Usual Attack on Militancy

Of course, it was inevitable that Mr. Lloyd George should attack militancy, but it is rather surprising

that he should do so in words which are at direct variance with those that precede, for not merely does he say that militancy is doing harm, but actually contends that unless it ceases he "despairs of success." What, then, becomes of the statement that the present position "must soon become intolerable for the Liberal Party"?

Hard Facts

The truth is that when Mr. Lloyd George talks about Votes for Women he talks with his tongue in his cheek. He knows quite well that there was practically no movement, and certainly no suggestion, that the situation (of failing to enfranchise women) was becoming intolerable for the Liberal Party in 1905, before militancy began. He knows that it was in a time of truce that he himself "torpedoed" the most hopeful scheme of enfranchising women which commanded the support of the progressive forces, as well as the Conservative forces, in the House of Commons. And he knows that it is now, when militancy has assumed its most virulent form, that the Liberal Party is being forced to consider its position.

Fifth Re-arrest of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

While the Government show no sign of meeting the unrest among women by a measure of just reform, they neglect no opportunity of persecuting those women who have been driven by injustice into open rebellion. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, an unconvicted prisoner, was re-arrested for the fifth time under the Cat and Mouse Act last Saturday, and on being taken to Holloway Gaol adopted the hunger and thirst strike for the sixth time since July 8, when she was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in default of finding sureties. Mr. George Lansbury, who similarly elected to go to prison about the same time, rather than be bound over, was released after one hunger strike and has not been re-arrested; the proceedings against Mr. John Scurr, on the same charge of incitement, were dropped altogether. Why cannot the Government, having taken the statesman-like course with regard to these two, show the same good sense in dealing with their woman opponent? Is it to be wondered at that Suffragists reply—Because they are men with votes behind them, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is a voteless woman?

Women Sweated by the Government

The disclosures just made in the course of an enquiry into the conditions of women employed by

the Government in the brushmaking trade offer one more proof of the urgency of the Woman Suffrage Question. The enquiry, of which we give some particulars on page 219, was made by the Women's Industrial Council, and it reveals the utter worthlessness, when applied to voteless women, of the Fair Wages Clause Resolution, passed by Parliament in 1891, and supposed to apply equally to women and to men. At the present time there are women brushmakers, working for firms engaged on Government contracts, who earn less than 2d. an hour, and work more than twelve hours a day, making a princely sum per week, which often does not exceed seven shillings. If the Fair Wages Clause had not worked better than this in the case of men brushmakers (whose skilled work brings in 30s. a week), is it to be supposed that it would not have been amended long ago?

Women not Expected to be Thirsty

The tendency of the official Liberal mind to differentiate both in legislation and administration between men and women, always to the disadvantage of the latter, manifests itself at times as sheer farce befitting the requirements of a Christmas pantomime, and absolutely incredible in sober seriousness. As the latest absurdity we draw attention to the order issued on New Year's Day to Boards of Guardians by Mr. John Burns to the effect that in future tea is to be included in the breakfast and supper dietary of able-bodied paupers, who have hitherto been denied this luxury—one pint and a half for the men and one pint only for the women. Upon what basis of calculation, we wonder, has the President of the Board of Trade worked out these quantities? Has he been misled by the old theory, now exploded, that the average brain of the man is relatively heavier than the average brain of the woman, and therefore needs fifty per cent. more stimulation before it can begin to operate? Or is it a calculation based upon the difference in wages paid by the Government to the men and women in its employ, an adaptation, therefore, in old age to the lower standard of living enforced throughout their industrial life upon the unrepresented half of the community? No votes for women and fifty per cent. less of all the good things doled out by a paternal Government! And the Liberals like Sir Almoth Wright expect women to be grateful!

A QUESTION OF TACTICS

By D. A. LOVELL

P.C. Preston was, in his own and many other people's opinion, a credit to the force. Preston, in his own private opinion, went further and considered himself a credit to the town. He was taller and heavier than any of his contemporaries, standing 6ft. 3½ in. in his bare feet and weighing over 16st. He possessed, in addition, a magnificent moustache, of which he was justly proud, and when he thought deeply upon any subject he was wont to fondle the flowing hair with his big, white gloved hand and imagine that the passers-by trembled inwardly and murmured to themselves, "Now, I wonder what problem P.C. Preston is at work upon."

To-day, the moustache had been fondled more than usual, and for once Preston's thoughts had not been wandering among the people on the pavement, but solving a problem in earnest. Finally, he began moving slowly, but with purpose, down the High Street towards the Town Hall upon the left. The big doors, as he had expected, stood open, and kneeling upon the stone floor of the wide hall, with a pail of water by her side and a large scrubbing brush in her hand, he saw his wife. He stood for a moment looking at her. Her back was towards him, and her head was completely hidden in a much befrilled pink sunbonnet. Something seemed to hold Preston back from doing that which he had evidently come to do, and from his attitude he appeared to be arranging his thoughts very carefully. Then he stepped heavily forward and gave a little official cough.

"Minnie," he said, gruffly, "how much more 'ave you got to do afore you're finished? I've got something to say to you."

"Hallo!" said Minnie, leaning on her brush and looking up sideways. "What do you want?"

"I said I've got something to say to you, and it's got to be said in private."

Minnie had neat ankles beneath her rough skirt and apron; she had a neat little figure, too, but she was not pretty; she had a timid look about her which annoyed her husband at times; in fact, she was insignificant, and Preston always had the feeling that he had conferred an everlasting benefit upon her in making her his wife. She wrung out her cloth, gave her hands a hasty dry on her apron, and sat back on her heels.

"There's no one in the place save us two," she said. "What is it?"

"Oh, it's nothing so important, of course; that is—well, it's like this. There's a big Liberal meeting coming off here next month, you understand, and a big pot's coming to speak—one what they call a Cabinet. You don't know naught about all that, naturally, and no more you should; but it's like this 'ere. There's goin' to be trouble with them bloomin' women, and I—I, you understand—want to know what they're goin' to do. Of course, we, as a force, are prepared for any emergency, but I goes further than that. I intends to find out hezactly what their policy is, and I intends frustratin' it."

Minnie took her eyes off her husband for a moment and glanced towards the door. "Don't talk so loud," she said. "The door's open."

"Now, you keep your mouth shut," retorted Preston. "You don't know naught about anything." Nevertheless, he lowered his voice.

"Well," said Minnie, "and what are you going to do?"

"That's not what I come to say," Preston replied, majestically. "What I come to say is this. I'm goin' to get you to attend them meetin's what they 'olds in their office down Church Road on Monday afternoons. I don't 'old with them, and no more I ever should, it's all entirely contrary to my views, and in the ordinary way you would never go near 'em; but as things are I want you to be at every one on 'em until this 'ere big affair comes off. What you'll 'ave to do is this. You'll just make out as you're 'ead and ears in with them and their doin's. You needn't

say much, but, if necessary, pay down a bob and sign on. Make 'em think as you're ready for anything, you see? Tell 'em as you're prepared for the lock-up, anything as'll make 'em confide—so to speak—in you. Then, when you've got it all first 'and, you just gives me the tip and clears out. That's all you've got to do."

Minnie looked down at the damp floor before her and gave the lump of soap a little push. Then she rubbed her hand slowly backwards and forwards over her rough apron. Finally, she spoke.

"You always said as I was no good at doin' anything," she said, "and I don't see as I can do this."

Preston settled himself firmly on his big feet. He was not altogether displeased at his wife's attitude. He looked wistfully into her eyes.

"I wish I'd known all this before," she said. "I would 'ave made a deal o' difference to me, and now it seems as if it 'ad come too late."

"It is never too late," said the little woman, cheerfully. "We should remember that the work we do is for the children who are yet to come."

The day for the long talked of meeting arrived, and very early in the morning Minnie was up and out and down the road with two large parcels and a bulky envelope under her arms. She was not wearing her usual shawl, but an aged black jacket instead, which had lain aside so long that it smelt milky. At a certain door in a quiet street she stopped, and, putting down her parcels, threw a few pieces of gravel up against one of the front windows. In a moment there came a faint rattle at the door, which was gently opened, and out came the little organizer.

"I've brought the lot," whispered Minnie, picking up the parcels, "and this 'ere is the key wot I use."

The paraphernalia was taken into the hall, and then the two women faced one another.

"Shake hands," said the organizer, quietly, and took one of Minnie's into hers. "It is the self-sacrifice of the women and their comradeship which is the life of our movement," she went on. "I say, 'Thank you,' but words cannot express what is in my heart."

"I did it for the sake of the little children," Minnie replied, simply, "and because I knew I ought."

The hours of that day crept slowly by. Preston came in at twelve for a meal, and Minnie waited on him. How big and strong he was! In her eyes he had never looked so big since the day when they had stood together before the altar and she had promised "To love, honour, and obey." And obey. Was she breaking her promise this day? Was she indeed acting as an obedient wife should? She bent down suddenly as she handed him a second cup of tea and pressed her cheek against his.

"Allo!" said Preston. "That's the first I've 'ad since—well, I forget; but, my word, Minnie, we're in for some fun to-night! If them women turns up we'll cop 'em, all the lot on 'em, as clean as rats in a trap." And with a mighty chuckle P.C. Preston went forth to the fight.

The hall was packed as full as it would hold with a representative host of England's intellectual, or otherwise, electorate. Not one single woman had been admitted. The Liberal committee was determined that it would have no nonsense.

The audience was employing its time by chanting a string of highly edifying choruses, and at the back of the hall, shoulder to shoulder with his chief, stood P.C. Preston. The speaker arrived, and was cheered to the echo; at that moment the audience was prepared to fight for the cause of Liberalism to the death. The chairman spoke, and then came a pause. The Big Man on the platform, surrounded by his admiring bodyguard, took a sip of water and wiped his mouth with a silk handkerchief; he then settled his collar, pulled vigorously at the lapels of his coat with both hands, beamed pleasantly round the hall, and began his speech.

Five minutes passed; the Big Man was warming to his subject; his audience was leaning well forward, all eyes and ears. P.C. Preston had just turned to his chief, muttering a few words of congratulation, when an awful thing happened. There was a sudden movement at one corner of the crowded platform, a hurried rush, and the small figure of a woman darted towards the Big Man as he stood by the table.

"Good God!" cried Preston, in utter horror, where before there had been but dull vacancy.

"And is it as bad as all that?"

"As bad as all that," the organizer replied. "If not worse."

"And do you mean as he can come here and stand up on that there platform and talk to them men as if he was preachin' to 'em, with all them things a-weighin' on his chest?"

"Yes." The organizer gave a little laugh. "That is to say, he is going to try; but we shall be there, of course, and I fancy he will not get very far."

It was at this point that Minnie hastily rose, fearful that she was about to hear something which, out of duty bound, she would feel obliged to report to her husband.

She gave her hand shyly to her new friend, and looked wistfully into her eyes.

"I wish I'd known all this before," she said. "I would 'ave made a deal o' difference to me, and now it seems as if it 'ad come too late."

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BOOKS AND DRAMA

YEAR BOOKS

"Who's Who"

"It's Minnie!" For one brief moment his eyes were fixed upon the well-known shawl and pink sunbonnet, as his wife, thrusting something white into the speaker's face, called, as loud as a small voice could, "That's from the woman to the man who tortures them!"

Of a sudden it seemed as if the audience had gone mad. The platform became a mass of confusion. Men rushed hither and thither, some crying one thing, some another, but to the right the mass became congested, and somewhere in the midst, battered and beaten about, was the little woman who had dared to interrupt the meeting.

Preston saw the pink sunbonnet thrown in the air and kicked into the audience below; and then a sickening thing occurred. To the right of the platform four steps descended to the body of the hall; they were narrow and steep, and as if to avoid any waste of time, the men who were nearest the woman caught her in their arms and flung her down the steps before them. The men below ran forward, picked her up, and rushed her away.

"There's pluck for you," said someone to Preston. "You wouldn't find a man do what she's done." But Preston did not look at the speaker, he was fighting his way towards the nearest door and down the passage to the vestibule.

There at the end stood a little knot of men, one bending down over something on the ground. He rose with a grave face as Preston ran up.

"Fetch a doctor, officer," he said, "she's badly hurt and unconscious."

"Let me pass, man," Preston shouted, angrily. "It's my wife."

He pushed his way towards the little figure as it lay upon the stone floor, and then he gave a gasp of infinite relief. "Why, it—it isn't Minnie!" he gasped, breathlessly.

It was late that night before P.C. Preston arrived home, and for the first time in his life he paused at his own door before he could make up his mind to lift the latch.

"I never thought as she 'ad it in 'er," he said to himself again and again. "I thought as I understood Minnie, but women's a queer lot, a darned queer lot. Now, what 'ad I better say to 'er!"

He opened the kitchen door and walked in.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Fellowship Meeting on February 26

Fellows and other readers are reminded to keep the evening of February 26 free, when it is proposed to hold a Votes for Women Fellowship public meeting. Particulars will be announced shortly.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(Up to Jan. 5th, 1914)

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Miss E. Violet James	0 2 0	Miss Elsie M.	0 2 6
Mrs. Schütze	0 2 6	Beagley	0 2 6
		Mrs. A. D. Manley	0 2 6
		Miss E. S. Court	1 0 0
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			£1,369 12 0

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Some of our regular sellers have stuck to their work right through the holidays.

If votes are to be won in 1914 all hands must be at the mill and work hard. Fellows who bring other gifts to the cause may see their way to adding this one little New Year's gift of selling, while those who are unable to do anything else are surely able to devote a little time to this end. Many meetings are coming on where volunteers can be most useful. Moreover, if they will send in their names and the definite time at which they are at liberty, so that pitches can be kept occupied every day of the week, arrangements will be made to have papers close at hand.

YEAR BOOKS

"Who's Who"

The New Year books are here to remind us that 1914 has really dawned. Prominent among these stands "Who's Who," now grown so bulky that we wonder whether fame is easier to catch to-day, or mediocrity merely easier to pass off as fame, than when the first small and unpretentious volume made its appearance many years ago. And large though it is, we notice some important suffragist omissions—Lady Constance Lytton and Mrs. Despard, for instance, to take two of those that we thought of looking for. And, as before, we notice how reticent are the really great as to their recreations and other personal details. When all is said and done, however, "Who's Who" remains an indispensable reference book, if only because it affords the best directory of those who "do things."

"The Englishwoman's Year Book"

Women will welcome with greater warmth that very excellent publication, "The Englishwoman's Year Book," which deals with all the things that matter to intelligent women of every kind, and has nothing to do with personalities. The new volume just issued is even better than usual, and contains a most interesting table of "Records for Women," intended to show how women are breaking new ground in professions and honours. The health of school-children is another feature specially dealt with in this issue of the book. Then there are all the usual features, ranging from education to sport, which have been brought up to date, each by experts; while the directory at the end of the book is a most useful means of finding the name and address of any woman concerned in public work. The summary of the suffrage movement is concise and accurate, and is followed by a useful list of the principal suffrage societies and their aims and methods.

"The Daily Mail Year Book"

The Daily Mail Year Book is a fairly comprehensive survey of events and progress in 1913, and gives a useful summary of the Insurance Act and legislation. It is interspersed with articles on various subjects, mostly written from the Daily Mail point of view, which do not add to its value as a work of reference, though they may render it attractive in other ways to a certain class of readers.

AN IMPERIAL RACE

"The young, young children, oh, my brothers!" "Rearing an Imperial Race" is surely a subject "much too vast to enter on" or to do more than enter on at this particular season; though, indeed, children and eating seem to be absorbing the thoughts of a great many people just now. This book contains—

A full Report of the Second Guildhall School Conference on Diet, Cooking, and Hygiene, with Dietaries; special reports from H.M. Ambassadors abroad; Articles on Children's Food Requirements, Clothing, &c. Here we have every sort and kind of suggestion for the good of the rising generation, from distinguished men and women, showing a healthy development of the social conscience. Only in one or two instances do we detect the superior person's touching belief—"that the poor in a loup is bad." Most of those quoted quite realise that the chief drawback of the poor is poverty, and many point out, what most of us have observed, that it is the man of the family who dreads open windows, and deduce from this, among other things, that the education of boys and girls should be more similar in character. The whole book deserves careful study by everyone who has any care for the credit of his country. To quote the Earl of Crewe (The Lord Privy Seal):—

Leaving out of the question all feelings of kindness and humanity, and looking at the matter from the most callous point of view, what a bad bargain we are making in allowing children who are not properly furnished physically to attend our schools!

In the words of Dr. A. D. Edwards:—
One can neither teach a child suffering from cold feet, nor educate a child with a headache. M. S. C.

"THE COCKYOLLY BIRD"

At the Court Theatre

The Children's Theatre changed their programme on Thursday in last week, and produced the promised "Cockyolly Bird," by Mrs. Percy Dearmer. This is a good children's play, with plenty of variety and adventure in it, and should certainly impress upon a youthful audience the necessity of learning geography, for Kit, the hero, is a very naughty boy over his geography lessons, and later finds out the mistake he has made. By his saying "Cockyolly" backwards, wonderful things happen. Kit's toys, the Cockyolly bird, the Teddy bear, and the black doll come to life, and they and their master are taken to

* "Who's Who, 1914." (A. & C. Black. Price 15s. net.)
* "The Englishwoman's Year Book, 1914." (A. & C. Black. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
* "The Daily Mail Year Book, 1914." (Associated Newspapers, Ltd. Price 6d. net.)
* "Rearing an Imperial Race." Edited by Charles E. Hacht M.A. (Published for the National Food Reform Association by The St. Catherine Press, 84, Norfolk Street, Strand. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

the North Pole, Japan, and a Cannibal Island, with the aid of an airship. This gives scope for charming scenery and dresses, of which the producers have taken full advantage. The Japanese scene is especially pretty, while at the North Pole there is a dance of Penguins, and on the Cannibal Island one of savages, performed by Miss Annie Spong's little dancers.

Fay Lilman, as Kit, acted exceedingly well; indeed, the acting throughout was of a high standard, considering that the players were nearly all children.

One criticism which might be offered is in regard to the Governess. There surely never was a governess like Miss Brown! Mrs. Dearmer takes so modern and so human a view of children that we rather feel she might have spared us the inhuman, if traditional, governess who surely never dominates the nursery of to-day!

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THE GREATEST WRITER

It was the critics who killed the prose work of our greatest living imaginative writer. It was the critics of the middle nineties, so bound by the Victorian tradition of sentimentality, so ignorant of woman's claims and coming struggle, that they saw nothing but a gloomy immorality in "Jude the Obscure," the most finely wrought and deeply tragic of his great series of books. We can hardly regret a decision which has given us some volumes of verse, and the dramatic epic of "The Dynasts," the finest of all poems upon England's history. But still we owe it to the density of critics and to their obsolete canons of nearly twenty years ago that Mr. Hardy took a vow to write no more prose. What was the good of wasting his thought upon people incapable of understanding what he said? He had always desired to write poetry. He would now spend the rest of his life upon verse, and let the critics go hang.

The present volume does not break his vow. A few of these stories, and these the best, were written since "Jude," it is true. But they are sketches rather than finished works—"minor novels," he calls them—and in some cases we can see with what art he might have elaborated them but for his resolve. Only one or two of them might be called "short stories," for in most instances they do not depict a single dramatic event or situation from which the rest of certain lives and characters must be conjectured, but they extend over several months or years, as though they were the outlines or general conceptions of novels that might have been. Often they remind us of the "scenario" which most dramatists write out carefully before beginning their play.

We see how easily they might have been expanded, and sometimes in a longer story the strange events and coincidences that seem to belong rather to melodrama might have been quieted down. But we are not sure. Such coincidences are always happening in reality, and often they fall as strangely and as pat as though some ironic melodramatist were really arranging them and pulling our little strings of life. "Life's Little Ironies" Mr. Hardy has himself called them, and in mockery they often come upon us all. Especially they seem to befall people who are half-hearted in their desires or intentions—people who have not quite the courage or passion or resolution to go through with things and risk all they have and all they are upon the event. In his "General Confession," Goethe makes his supplants vow for the future "to wean themselves of half-heartedness, and in the good, the complete, and the beautiful to live without finching." "Im Ganzen resolut zu leben"—it is for want of fidelity to that vow that so many of Mr. Hardy's characters end either in a tragedy of violence, or, what is worse, a tragedy of shoals and uninspired, passionless content.

We find instances of it in most of the best of these stories—in "A Changed Man," "The Waiting Supper," "Alicia's Diary," "Enter a Dragon," "A Committee Man of 'The Terror,'" and we should find it in "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid," if Mr. Hardy had not been determined, almost against his better judgment, to make a "happy ending" just for once. In almost all the stories there is some flaw in the passion, some pause for reflection, or hesitation at the risk, which strands the unhappy people either in absurdity or disaster; and if it is in disaster, even that is shown to be a little absurd. The ironic effect is heightened by the perfect calm and quiet restraint of the narrative. Scenes of passion and tragic perplexity are narrated in language that seems almost commonplace. The narrator "does not turn a hair." He is as cool as fate itself in ordering the destinies of life's little victims. But behind all this calm and self-possession lurks "the Spirit of the Pitiless," rebellious against the conventional causes of human sorrow.

There is fun as well, and, as often before, Mr. Hardy's fun likes best a touch of the military, especially the "fencibles," the yeomanry, or other farming volunteers. The milkmaid's lover, for instance, a lime-kiln worker, has joined the yeomanry to win her favour, and with what charm he is presented!

"His shapely upright figure was quite noteworthy in the row of rotund yeomen on his right and left; while his charger, Tony, expressed by his bearing, even more than Jim, that he knew nothing about lime-carts whatever, and everything about trumpets and glory. How Jim could have scrubbed Tony to such shining blackness she could not tell. For the horse, in his natural state, was ingrained with lime dust, that burnt the colour out of his coat as it did out of Jim's hair. Now he pranced martially, and was a warhorse every inch of him." H. W. N.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- "Who's Who," 1914. (London: A. & C. Black. Price 15s. net).
- "The Englishwoman," January. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net).
- "Woman at Home," January. (London: 8, Southampton Street. Price 6s. net).
- "What is Womanly?" By Laurence Housman. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 4d.).
- "Prejudices Old and New." By Eunice G. Murray. (Edinburgh: The Scottish Council of the Women's Freedom League. Price 1d.).
- "Liberal Cant." By Eunice G. Murray. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 1d.).
- "A Changed Man, The Waiting Supper, and Other Tales." By Thomas Hardy. (Macmillan and Co. Price 6s.).

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WHY THE QUESTION IS URGENT

Helplessness of Voteless Women In the Law Courts—In Marriage—In Government Workshops

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES
Kicking an Old Woman
The *Birkenhead News* (December 27) reports case of a man charged on remand at the Borough Police Court, before Mr. H. C. Elmish and Dr. A. C. E. Harris, with knocking over and severely kicking an old woman in the house where he lodged. He had come home drunk. Medical evidence proved that the woman's arm was badly fractured, and her head had to be stitched.
Sentence: Fine of 20s. and costs, or one month's imprisonment.

Drunkenness in a Man
The *Daily Mail* (January 5) reports case of a motor-cyclist charged at Coventry with being drunk in charge of a motor-cycle with sidcar attached. He was driving at twenty miles an hour, there were four men on it, and a man standing near the kerb was knocked down and badly injured.
Sentence: One month's imprisonment.

Drunkenness in a Woman
The *Daily Mail* (January 5) reports case of a needlewoman (with a baby six weeks old) charged at Clerkenwell Police Court before Mr. d'Eyncourt with stealing some of her landlady's bedclothing. In passing a severe sentence, Mr. d'Eyncourt, hearing that the cause of her dishonesty was drink, said he did so in her own interest.
Sentence: Three months' imprisonment.

Assault on a Little Girl
The *Brighton Herald* (January 3) reports case of a man of fifty-one, charged before the Brighton magistrates, with criminally ill-treating a little girl of seven when her father, a friend of his, was out of the room.
Sentence: Twenty-one days' hard labour.

Human Life or Bedclothing?
The second of the two comparisons given above illustrates rather more forcibly than usual the difference of treatment accorded in the Courts to men and women. In the one case a man is given one month's imprisonment for endangering human life by being drunk when driving a motor-vehicle carrying four persons besides himself, and for knocking down a bystander who might easily have been killed. No mention is made in the *Times* report of the man losing his licence, or of any special reprimand being addressed to him on the subject of his drunkenness.

Only a Woman!
In the other case a woman, with her six weeks' baby, is sent to prison for three months for stealing some bedclothing, and, it being mentioned that her dishonesty is to be traced to drink, the magistrate takes the occasion to read her a homily, saying that he has made the sentence a severe one "in her own interest," and that the infant would be better off with a mother "made sober by discipline."

Would not the motor-cyclist be all the better, too, for being made sober by discipline, and would it not be in the interest of the public if steps were taken to prevent his being free at the end of the month to drive his motor-cycle again, possibly again under the influence of drink? Scarcely a week goes by without some flagrant instance in the Courts of drunkenness while in charge of a motor vehicle, with or without fatal results, which is dealt with in the most lenient manner by the Bench, who nearly always grant the option of a fine.

A Very Different Story
But when it is the case of a woman who has taken to drink, and petty theft is the result—well, naturally, we have a severe sentence at once, and a lecture on her special depravity!

JUSTICE—AS A MAN
We are glad to note that public opinion is gradually being roused to a sense of the inequalities of the punishments given by the Courts, which for some time past we have been expressing in these columns. The *Wallasey News* (December 27) has a spirited comment—and from the Suffragist point of view, too!—on a recent case at Leeds of a girl of nineteen, sentenced to five years' penal servitude for stealing jewellery, having been previously convicted of various offences. This it compares with the case of a man at Wolverhampton who was charged with assaulting a woman, stealing 6s. 6d. from her, and living on the wages of prostitution, and was sentenced for the last offence to the maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment.

Who Holds the Scales?
The *Wallasey News* adds:—
"Until the woman—who should be pic-

HEAVY SENTENCES

Obtaining Money on False Pretences
The *Times* (December 17) reports case of a clerk and an agent indicted at the Central Criminal Court before the Common Sergeant, for conspiracy to obtain money on false pretences. They made false representations in order to pass off a bogus business as a genuine business concern (a confectioner's and tobacconist's shop). There were no previous convictions, but the clerk was an undischarged bankrupt.
Sentence: The clerk to 12 months' and the agent to 9 months' hard labour.

Stealing Luggage
The *Morning Post* and other papers (January 6) report case of a laundry-maid of thirty-four, charged at the Leicester Quarter Sessions with stealing luggage at Leicester Railway Station. There were previous convictions. The Recorder described her as "a pest to society."
Sentence: Four years' penal servitude.

Twopence an Hour
In the woman's case, although the firms selected for contract work by Government Departments are not necessarily among the worse, and are often among the better class of employers, the rate between one Government contractor and another may vary as much as 33 per cent., so that the lowest rate recorded for a woman is 2d. an hour, and the longest hours are more than 12 a day. This does not look, as Mrs. Drake remarks, as though the Fair Wages Clause had been operative in the case of women; in fact, she says it "is for the women in the brushmaking trades no protection whatsoever."

Why is This?
The reason is given quite simply by the writer: "The economic helplessness of women is due not to their own shortcomings but to generations of social and political servitude. If the present regulations were as inoperative for men as they are for women, is there anyone who questions that the same power which compelled the House of Commons to pass the original Resolution would not after more than twenty years have compelled that Resolution to take effect?"

The Fame of the Government
The writer concludes by calling upon the Government to see that every woman who is employed on Government work during the time that a contract is running should be paid not less than 17s. per week, or 4d. an hour. "And," she adds, "the Government, whose fame in history will be for the tyranny of women, will bear one less reproach that under a man-made rule equal justice is meted out in Government contracts to men and women."

SOME OF THE WAGES NOW PAID
The following are some of the cases investigated by the Women's Industrial Council:—
Case 1.—Elderly married woman. Semi-invalid husband: bird-trap maker. Rough class Government work, e.g., oil, brass, Navy "hard" and household scrubbing brushes. 14d. an hour. Household brushes work out at a trifle less than the Government brushes. Average earnings, 6s. to 7s. 6d. a week.
Case 2.—Widow. Three young children. Rough class and better class Government work, e.g., oil, brass, clothes,

hair brushes, &c., and general household brushes. Earnings vary with class of brush. Average, 24d. an hour—14s. to 15s. a week. Often works 12 to 15 hours a day. No difference between Government and private work.
Case 7.—Married woman. Husband casual dock labourer. Six young children. Works only when husband is out of work. Rough class and better class Government work and household work. 2d. and 3d. an hour. Average, 18s. a week. Government and other rates work out about the same.
Case 8.—Sailor's wife. One child. Old mother dependent. Tooth-brush drawing. Government and other work. 4s., 4s. 6d. and 5s. a gross. (Government work, 4s., 6d., 2d. to 2 1/2d. an hour. Average, 18s. a week.)
Case 9.—Single woman. Helps to support old mother. Tooth-brush drawing. Government and private work. 3s. to 6s. a gross. 1 1/2d. to 2 1/2d. an hour, more often 1 1/2d. Government work, 2d. an hour. Average, 8s. a week. Long hours.

THE SWEATING OF CHILDREN
The writer of the article quoted above points out further that "the sweating of women is the sweating of children," and that the women's children who help her in her work "are faced with the grim alternative of sweating or starvation." In one case, "where the father was out of employment and the mother was endeavouring to support a family of seven children, all under thirteen years of age, upon a rate which brought her in about 1d. an hour, every child over seven was working after school for three hours or more before going to bed."

It is to be wondered at that women of every class are clamouring for the vote in order to help one another to establish for women an industrial recognition and an industrial standard at least equal to those which the men, after forty-five years of enfranchisement, have managed to acquire for themselves?
CHILD LABOUR IN LONDON
In a letter to the *Times* last Monday on Evening (Continuation) Schools, Lord Chelmsford quoted some appalling facts concerning the hours of work of boys under seventeen in London alone. "One of our juvenile advisory committees reported on this subject only a few weeks ago," he writes. "They had investigated the cases of 1,540 boys, and they found on the evidence of their employers that only nine boys worked forty-eight hours a week and under; that 276 boys worked fifty-eight hours a week and under; and that the rest worked between sixty and seventy hours a week." Lord Chelmsford adds: "If this is typical of what is going on in London generally it discloses a very serious state of things." And he is driven to the conclusion that the boys' hours should be shortened by Act of Parliament.
Women, who are forced year after year to expend their whole energies, time, and money on winning their enfranchisement alone, read such figures as these with growing exasperation at their own inability to back the legislation Lord Chelmsford proposes, or to do anything effective in attacking the great evil of child labour.

THE SUPPORTED WIFE
"I am having peace now, and don't want to live with my husband any more," a woman told the Acton magistrates.
The Chairman: Where is he?—"Doing time" for breaking open a gas meter and stealing the children's money-boxes.
"Wait until he comes home again before you renew your application," was the chilling advice of the Bench.—Globe.
They who seek nothing but their own just liberty have always right to win it and keep it whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it.
JOHN MILTON.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in **VOTES FOR WOMEN** should be sent to The Editors, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper. The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS should, if possible, be typewritten. Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE
will re-commence their
WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON PUBLIC MEETINGS
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Speakers: Miss Cicely Hamilton and others.
Chair: Mrs. Hunsman.
ADMISSION FREE.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT COMMITTEE
has arranged a series of 6 Lectures by Experts on Social Problems, for Women Only. The Lectures will be held on alternate Thursdays at 5.30, beginning Jan. 22nd, at the Kingsway Hall (Lecture Hall). The first Lecture on Jan. 22nd will be on "The Civic Responsibility of Women." By Miss Cicely Hamilton. Other subjects dealt with will include: "The Moral and Physical Effects of Prohibited Vice," "The Moral and Physical Effects of the Rising Moral Standard." Lecturers: Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss L. Macdonald, M.D., Miss Walsford, Miss Margaret McMillan, Mrs. Colonel Fisher, S.A., and Miss L. Eckerson. For syllabus and tickets 2/6, 1/- and 1/2, apply to The Secretary, C.L.A. Committee, 19 Tothill Street, S.W.

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MISS E. ROPER, B.A., will speak on "The Present Position of Women in the Post Office and the Holt Report."
MISS GORE-BOOTH will speak on "Women's Employment in the Book-binding and Printing Trade."
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announces a
DEBATE on the INSURANCE ACT,
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On **MONDAY, JANUARY 19th, 1914, at 8 p.m.**
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Tickets: Reserved and numbered, 2/6; unreserved, 1/-, can be obtained from the Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.; and from Miss Gertrude Eaton, 3, Gloucester Walk, Kensington, W.; Mrs. Louis Fagan, 37, Rutland Court, Knightsbridge, W.; Miss Amy Hicks, M.A., 33, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.; Mrs. G. den Sanderson, 319, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
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FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1914.

THE CLOUD ON THE LIBERAL HORIZON

Self-government is, as the late Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman once declared in a memorable speech, the very essence of the Liberal faith and creed. Self-government, he went so far as to say, is more essential to the welfare of a nation than good government. This dictum was hailed at that time from the party which he led.

But we doubt whether any Liberal orator would be brave enough to refer to that statement or to extol self-government now except in a very carefully packed meeting. Liberals are shamefacedly and miserably conscious of their refusal of self-government in its simplest and most elementary form to the women of their own race, and they shrink nervously from any allusion to those ideals and principles which were so loudly proclaimed by the Party some years ago, and have been so signally belied in their application to the great body of women who are in revolt against political and legal subjection. The Party is shaken and demoralised by betrayal of its own faith. Very significant of this state of affairs is the strained silence which the Liberal journals have preserved in their reviews and forecasts of the political position, during the past week, with regard to the woman's movement so vigorously alive in the political world. So acutely do these champions of the principle of self-government "feel their position," that they literally have not dared to look women or facts in the face. They have preferred to keep up the pretence that neither exist.

The Nation, alone, has shown both more wisdom and more courage. In a very suggestive and illuminating leading article dealing with parties and their prospects, the editor does not hesitate to define

the refusal of the Liberal party to apply its principles to the urgent question of Votes for Women as the cause of the greatest difficulty with which that Party is at present confronted, and the chief cloud that hangs upon its political horizon. Strong as is the case for Woman Suffrage upon all grounds of fundamental and political principles, the present Government, as the writer of this article shows, has made it all the stronger as a matter of immediate politics.

It was a favourite doctrine for many generations that Governments had no power over wages. During the last five years a Liberal Government has legislated to fix wages in a number of industries, and to tax wages for insurance. Each of these measures destroys any argument that may be based on the belief that the economic circumstances of a man or woman cannot be affected by the possession of a vote. The Blue-book issued last month shows that women and girls engaged in money-earning occupations, who are therefore directly interested (and not merely interested as housewives) in all the questions raised by the Government's policy of contributory insurance and a minimum wage, number nearly five millions. Those who argue that a vote is no weapon to a class, fly in the face of history. For each class has begun to have its point of view considered in Parliament after receiving the vote, and not before.

There is no answer to this plain and simple statement of the position. Those who argue that the ruling classes can protect the interests of the voteless as well or even better than the voteless themselves can do, are, as the writer of this article correctly says, flying in the face of all democratic principles and—as we ourselves would add—disqualifying themselves for the position of leadership of any party that appeals to the people in the name of democracy or self-government. The Liberal party, if it would save its Liberalism, must purge itself of its Asquiths and its Harcourts. It must bring itself back into line with its own creed by acknowledging and granting the claims of women to self-government. How is this task of purification to be accomplished? By the resolute and determined action of those men and women to whom Liberalism means a faith and not a name.

Upon the men of the party as voters falls the ultimate responsibility. Unless they can discover a method of expressing their political belief and enforcing their political will, then democratic government has become in this country a farce. Every Liberal elector who believes that self-government is a vital principle of constitutional liberty, every reformer who, with the man who laid down his life in fighting for the first English Parliament, holds that "what touches all must be approved by all," should make it immediately clear to the candidate of his Parliamentary division that his vote at the next election will be determined by the sole issue of Woman Suffrage, since there is no moral sanction for any legislation which touches women but is not approved by them.

To pressure of this kind the blind and stupid obstinacy of the Liberal Cabinet will inevitably yield. By such action carried out on a comprehensive scale throughout the constituencies the principles of justice, liberty and democracy will be vindicated, and the cloud now lowering so darkly on the political horizon will be dispersed.

Liberal women also have their part to play. If we appeal to the electors in the name of responsibility, we appeal to Liberal women in the name of self-respect. Their only effective method of pressure is the political strike, the absolute refusal to work, to give financial support or any sign of co-operation until they have won for themselves and for the womanhood of the country a position of complete political equality with men.

But though we call upon Liberals to save their principles and their party we know that the men and women who are united in the present great campaign for the extension of political citizenship to both halves of the human race equally are concerned with something infinitely more vital to the life of the people than the triumph of Liberalism. They are fighting for a new vision of liberty, a new ideal of equality, and a new conception of human fellowship; they are fighting for the birth of an era and for the evolution of a race. That is why they go forward with right good heart to meet in the year 1914 whatever destiny may have in store; why they grow to the unseen with a cheer. That is why they are neither elated nor depressed by their prospects, but only ask that they may "carry on"—for "the fight's the thing," though the victory is sure.

"Where liberty is, there is my country," was said by Benjamin Franklin, one of the world's great fighters for constitutional freedom. "Where is not liberty, there is mine," was the answer of Thomas Paine. It is the answer that best expresses the spirit of this great movement. The lovers of liberty are of necessity her warriors, and great in death or in life is to them her crowning gift.

"IS THE LAW UNJUST TO WOMEN?"

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Barrister-at-Law

(We reproduce below a copy of the leaflet just issued by the "Suffrage First" Committee, of which Mr. Henry D. Harben is Hon. Treasurer and Mr. Pethick Lawrence is Hon. Secretary. In a short prefatory note the writer explains that the statement is by no means exhaustive, and that it relates to English and not to Scottish law, the latter being slightly more favourable to women. Copies of the leaflet can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, "Suffrage First" Committee, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 1s. per 100, 7s. 6d. per 1,000, post free.)

AS GIRL

The State spends less money on the education of girls per head than it spends on the education of boys.

Moreover, it has permitted funds left for education generally to be employed for the almost exclusive use of boys.

There are no effective laws to check the white slave traffic.

Stealing a woman is liable to less punishment than stealing property. This is still true in spite of the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The age of consent is fixed at sixteen.

Thus five years before a man or woman can be bound by signed contract as to property, a girl can legally consent to her own dishonour. Moreover, even if she is under sixteen the man can often escape punishment by pleading that he thought she was over that age.

By the laws of intestacy "real estate" goes to sons before daughters.

By Real Estate is meant certain forms of landed property: it is not confined to the actual house and lands on which the family have been living, but may constitute the whole or a large part of the property of the deceased.

AS UNMARRIED WOMAN

Women are excluded from many well-paid occupations.

The factory laws (though protective in their nature) not infrequently operate to prevent women from working at quite suitable occupations. Thus many women florists, working comparatively short hours for fair wages, have been replaced by men because by the factory laws it is illegal to employ women late in the evening.

Again, the law in England permits certain bodies of men to exclude women from certain public callings, such as "the Bar," at which in many countries women are allowed to practise. They are also forbidden to become solicitors.

In addition to the direct operation of the law women are largely excluded from good positions by the decision of the administrative departments of the Crown, which, as they are subject to the control of the House of Commons, are rightly included here. Nearly all well-paid Government appointments are confined to men, and even where women as well as men are appointed, they are completely outnumbered. Thus there are only about 20 women factory inspectors to 170 men inspectors, and only about 30 women school inspectors to about 350 men.

The State pays women less wages than men for the same work.

Women teachers receive about two-thirds the salaries of men teachers for identical work with the same qualifications, the same hours, and the same sized classes. Women factory inspectors can only reach a maximum of £550, while the maximum for men is £1,200. Similar figures apply to school inspectors, while another example of disparity of pay is provided by the Post Office.

Women employees of the State are underpaid, and women employees of the State's sub-contractors are sweated.

Among the worst cases are those in the Army Clothing Department. Where men are employed on Government work the conditions of their employment are safeguarded in accordance with a resolution of the House of Commons, but the resolution on account of the way it is worded affords no effective protection to women workers.

AS WIFE

The marriage relationship is unequal.

In the marriage vows of the Established Church the woman, in addition to giving the same promises as her husband, promises "to obey," and the law

sustains this in every detail of their married life. The husband alone has the right to decide where the home shall be, how it shall be kept, what servants they shall have, how the children shall be brought up, how they shall be educated, what religion they shall have. He can even exchange his nationality for that of another country and force her to do the same. If she is living with him, he can refuse or compel her to be a mother at his pleasure. He can take away what she has saved out of housekeeping money. And, though he is not allowed to-day to chastise her physically, those appointed to administer the law are wont to punish with the utmost leniency even the most brutal cases of assault by the husband on the wife. Of course, the great majority of husbands are far better than the law enjoins, but this is no more reason why the law should allow the husband such wide powers than if, because most men are honest, it was proposed to have no laws against theft.

The divorce laws are unequal.

Whereas the husband can free himself from the marriage bond by proving the unfaithfulness of his wife, she cannot obtain freedom in the event of his unfaithfulness, except by proving, in addition, either desertion or personal cruelty on his part to her.

The working-class wife has no effective claim to maintenance on her husband.

Nominally a husband is bound to maintain his wife, and equally a wife in possession of property is bound to maintain her husband if he has no other means. In the case of well-to-do persons these rights can be effectively enforced. But the working-woman is practically unable to secure maintenance from her husband if he seeks to evade his responsibility in the matter.

In the first place, if he is continuing to live with her, she cannot insist upon receiving any fraction of his wages for housekeeping purposes; if he chooses to spend them all on himself she cannot set the law in motion to secure regularly any sum out of them. There is nothing left for her to do but to break up her home and take herself and her children into the workhouse, and then, and not always then, will the guardians act, and obtain money from the husband in order that the wife and children may not be a charge on the rates. (Another alternative which she theoretically possesses, viz., to leave his house and set up in a separate house of her own, and then to come on him for maintenance is obviously not possible for the working-woman.)

If, on the other hand, he has deserted her and disappeared, she cannot set the law in motion to find him. If he has deserted her and she herself finds him, or if they are separated she may be able to obtain a maintenance order from the Court, but even with this she is not at all sure of getting her allowance. She is compelled to go to his house for the money week by week, and if he refuses to give it her only remedy is to have him imprisoned, which, in addition to being very repugnant to her, places her in no better position than before. Magistrates have repeatedly regretted their inability to attach the wages of the husband in such cases, but at present this is illegal without the man's consent.

Some people fail to see the special injustice of this state of the law, and argue that to alter it would be to place the wife in an unduly favourable position. They do not realise that the necessity for maintenance of the wife by the husband depends on the nature of the normal marriage conditions. On marriage the husband continues to earn money wages, while the wife gives up earning money wages and devotes her labour to the unpaid work of the home. The law ought therefore to step in to prevent him spending the whole of his money upon himself.

The wife has no right to a share of money earned in common.

Not only has the wife who devotes her whole life to the duties of housekeeper and mother no claim to any part of her husband's means, but even where she is in reality his partner in business and has worked as hard, it may be harder, to make it a success the business is legally entirely his. She has no claim either to a salary or to any share in it. He can give it away or sell it and spend the money entirely on himself as he pleases.

She cannot reclaim Income Tax on her Separate Income.

The laws relating to income tax do not recognise

the wife's separate income. She cannot therefore claim abatement where her income has been taxed at the source. The husband alone is entitled to make the claim and have the money refunded to him, and he cannot be compelled to hand it over to her.

Except in London the Married Woman is excluded from the Municipal Franchise.

The Married Woman is Handicapped as Trader.

The position of the married woman trader is sometimes quoted as an illustration of the favoured position of married women, because a married woman is not liable to be imprisoned for debt or for breach of fiduciary responsibility, but is only liable to the extent of her separate estate. This may prove some advantage to a dishonest woman, but for the most part it acts as a handicap to an honest married woman who desires to engage in trade, for she finds in consequence that firms frequently refuse to accept her signature to a contract unless that of her husband is obtained at the same time. The law was not really made in the interests of women (else why should it apply only to married women?), but was a survival of the old law of coverture by which married women were supposed to be the property of their husband, and was intended to protect him from the loss of his wife's services and companionship.

AS MOTHER

The Mother is not the Parent of Her Own Child.

This startling assertion is strictly legally correct. Provided the child was born in wedlock and the father is alive the law does not recognise the mother as a parent. Thus under the Vaccination Act certain rights are given to the "parent" of the child; the mother on applying under these Acts has been told that she is not accounted a parent. Moreover, under all normal circumstances the law supports the wishes of the father against those of the mother in every detail of the life of the children as to their education, religion, domicile, vaccination, or any other matter. This is equally true of girls and boys, and cannot be voided by premarital agreement. Even after his death she may find her wishes for the future of her children subject to those of a guardian appointed in her husband's will. The mother, on the other hand, can only nominate a guardian to act with her husband after her death, and the appointment will not take effect unless the Court ratifies it. This the Court will not do unless the husband is notoriously unfit.

The Father inherits from the Child to the exclusion of the Mother.

Where a child dies under age or intestate the whole of his or her property (provided he or she has no children) goes to the father, if alive. If there is no father, then the mother shares equally with the brothers and sisters in the "personal" property, but she has no share of the "real" property (freeholds), all of which goes to her deceased husband's relatives.

AS WIDOW

The Law permits a Man to leave by will his Money away from his wife and leave her Penniless.

It is quite true that wives have a similar right with regard to their own property. The injustice of these laws arises from the fact that during marriage all the labour of the wife is going to increase his property (indirectly by saving him the wages of a housekeeper if she is fulfilling the usual position of a wife, directly if, in addition, as in the case of shopkeepers and others, she is taking a share in the work of his business); consequently it is wrong that the husband should have a free right of disposal of that which they have together helped to build up.

If the Husband dies Intestate the Widow is treated worse than the widower on the death of his wife.

A widower takes the whole of his intestate wife's "personal" property, and has a life interest in her "real" estate (freeholds), if there are no children.

A widow first obtains £500; beyond that, if there are children, she only takes one-third of the personal property and none of his "real" estate; if there are no children she takes none of his "real" property and only half his "personal" property, the other half going to the husband's next of kin, or failing them to the Crown!

AS GIRL, WIFE, OR WIDOW

The Insurance Act is grossly unfair to women at all stages of their life.

AS CITIZEN

Finally, women, though fulfilling all the duties of citizenship and being subject to all the laws made by Parliament, are debarred from the Parliamentary franchise solely on the ground of sex.

WOMEN VOTERS IN AMERICA—PRESENT AND FUTURE

Brilliant Results of Woman's Vote in the West—Facts Quoted by the "Times" in Its Pacific Coast Number—Present Suffrage Position in Congress

We were able to quote only briefly in the last issue of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* from the Pacific Coast supplement of the *Times* issued on Wednesday in last week. The facts given there of woman suffrage in the working as seen in the Pacific Coast States of California, Washington, and Oregon, add a most important contribution to the evidence already in existence of the good results that follow in those countries which have enfranchised their women. That the *Times*, hitherto an Anti-Suffrage organ, should think it worth while to devote so much space to the suffrage history of these States and of the territory of Alaska, is in itself a proof of the established importance of this great question.

WOMEN VOTERS IN CALIFORNIA

We have already called attention in an article on "What the Women of California have Done with the Vote," by Ethel Mowbray Dolson, which appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* on July 4, 1913, to the astonishing results of the freeing of women in that State. The San Francisco correspondent of the *Times* endorses every word of our article.

WHAT THE "TIMES" SAYS

The following extract from the *Times* article is specially instructive:—

Over 600,000 women were enfranchised in California on October 10, 1911. That was two years ago. Two years is a short time to bring in the millennium, but it may be asked, What have the women of California done in two years to justify the belief of their men that they were sufficiently grown up to be entrusted with the greatest prize of citizenship?

The Legislature of 1913 was the first one in the selection of which the Californian women had a voice. It is significant to examine the laws which were backed by the women voters and which were passed by that Legislature. The women voters kept an agent in Sacramento not to lobby for the Bill, but to keep track of them, and to see that none was accidentally lost in Committee, or was inadvertently incorrectly printed.

Indirect Influence—or the Ballot?

Many of the measures, such as the Red Light Abatement Law, which is directed against the owners of property used as houses of prostitution; the law which gives the mother equal rights with the father in the guardianship of children; and the law which raises the age of consent for girls—raising the age at which a girl may consent to her own seduction—had been subjects of petition for years by the women. The very first Legislature after equal suffrage passed them—most of them without debate or a dissenting vote—thus showing the difference between indirect influence which male politicians tell the real power is as valuable as a vote, and the real power of the ballot.

Measures Backed by Women

The following measures are the only ones introduced in the Californian Legislature which were backed by the women voters. Every one of them passed:—

An Act providing for the abatement of houses of prostitution, making houses of prostitution a nuisance, and providing for enjoining persons who conduct or maintain such a house, and the owner, lessee, or agent of a building where such nuisance is maintained.

Equal Guardianship Act, providing that the father and mother of a legitimate unmarried minor child are equally entitled to its custody, services, and earnings.

The Bastardy Act, requiring fathers to support their illegitimate children.

Minimum Wage Act, regulating the employment of women and children, and establishing an industrial welfare commission to investigate and deal with such employment, which commission has power to fix a minimum wage.

An Act limiting the hours of labour for women. This Act increases the scope of the eight-hour law, which provides that women shall not be employed more than forty-eight hours in one week, nor upon more than six days in one week. A determined opposition to this Bill arose over applying the eight-hour law to student nurses.

An Act regulating the employment of children; providing that no minor child under eighteen years shall be employed more than eight hours in one day, and no minor between the ages of twelve and fifteen shall be employed for wages or profit. Some exceptions are made.

An Act defining the crime of rape. This Act raises the age of consent to eighteen years. It was formerly sixteen.

An Act raising the penalty for rape from a minimum of five to a maximum of ten years imprisonment, and from a maximum of ten to a maximum of fifty years.

An Act establishing a State training school for delinquent girls and appropriating \$200,000 therefor. (By agreement previous to the Session of the Legislature the organized women of the State asked for no other Act carrying an appropriation.)

An Act providing for the free use of all public schools, houses, and property, and for establishing a civic centre at each and every schoolhouse in the State.

An Act providing for the payment of pensions to public school teachers, and creating a public school teachers' pension fund.

An Act providing for the support of public kindergartens, making kindergartens a part of the public school system.

An Act establishing a State standard of weights and measures, and providing for a State superintendent of weights and measures.

The Net Containor Act, providing for an indication on the label of the net quantity of foodstuff in a container.

An Act providing for the State registration of nurses.

An Act providing for cases in which a married woman may sue and be sued separately from her husband, as when her separate property, her right to homestead property, &c., is concerned.

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GENERAL RESULTS

The writer of the article goes on to speak of the general results of the woman's

vote in California, and concludes with the following summary, which forms a clinching argument with which to silence Anti-Suffrage alarmists who talk about disruption in the home:—

One-fifth of the United States Senate, one-seventh of the House of Representatives, and one-sixth of the Presidential electoral vote of the United States comes now from States where women exercise suffrage just as men do. Homes have not been disrupted, marriages have not lessened, children have not failed because of the political enfranchisement of women. Instead, there has come a more solemn feeling of obligation, a greater feeling of responsibility on the part of men and women, a higher moral tone in candidates and in measures, and an effort to make the city streets and the country at large a safer place for children when they leave the precincts where maternal love reigns supreme.

The women of the suffrage States care not only for their own children but for the children of other women not so fortunately placed.

because they asked democrats to carry their own democratic principles into effect. In a word, American men have so far met unrest among women by wise reform, and that unrest has therefore not been converted into revolution.

How often must we point out this perfectly obvious fact to those who, with Mr. Lloyd George at their head, complain petulantly of the militancy to which they have driven perfectly law-abiding, peace-loving women?

FUTURE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE STATES

Present Political Position in Congress

American Suffragists consider that an important step has been gained in obtaining from President Wilson the announcement that he favours the appointment of a special Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House, similar to that already formed in the Senate which reported favourably last year on the Bill for a Federal amendment. The very meagre reports which appeared in the English papers of the Suffragists' interview with the President, at the beginning of December, sought to convey the impression that the deputations retired disgruntled because he had refused to send a message to Congress urging it to pass the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

HOW WE HELPED WASHINGTON WOMEN

The *Times* correspondent in Seattle, sketching the history of the woman suffrage movement on the Pacific Coast, pays tribute to the English militant movement, and bears out our frequently advanced contention that it was our campaign over here of six years ago that gave the impetus to the movement in the States. Nothing could be more plainly put than the admission to this effect contained in the following extract from the article in question:—

"Washington women, in starting their campaign six years ago, conceded that the great quantity of free advertising given to the idea of equal suffrage by the news reports of the English suffragist activities would be invaluable in bringing the American movement to its culmination. No man here would approve of the English methods, but each had to ask himself, 'What reason can there be for denying women a vote?'"

The "Times" Attack on Militancy

Commenting on the above extract, the *Times*, in its preliminary article on the Pacific Coast States, remarks: "English militant suffragists will not take much consolation from the remarks of one of our correspondents, whose sympathy with the cause is not open to doubt, that 'no man here would approve of English methods.'" Our Answer to the "Times"

We hasten to reply to the *Times* that English militant methods were not adopted by English militant suffragists for amusement, but because the prejudice and inanity which prevented Englishmen from doing justice to women made such methods, after forty years of peaceful agitation, inevitable.

In the United States this has not been the case. American men have not so far denied American women their rights when they wished for their enfranchisement. American politicians have not refused to receive deputations, or to answer questions addressed to them by their countrywomen; nor have they put their countrywomen into prison and inflicted horrible tortures upon them

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FUTURE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE STATES

Present Political Position in Congress

American Suffragists consider that an important step has been gained in obtaining from President Wilson the announcement that he favours the appointment of a special Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House, similar to that already formed in the Senate which reported favourably last year on the Bill for a Federal amendment. The very meagre reports which appeared in the English papers of the Suffragists' interview with the President, at the beginning of December, sought to convey the impression that the deputations retired disgruntled because he had refused to send a message to Congress urging it to pass the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

HOW WE HELPED WASHINGTON WOMEN

The *Times* correspondent in Seattle, sketching the history of the woman suffrage movement on the Pacific Coast, pays tribute to the English militant movement, and bears out our frequently advanced contention that it was our campaign over here of six years ago that gave the impetus to the movement in the States. Nothing could be more plainly put than the admission to this effect contained in the following extract from the article in question:—

"Washington women, in starting their campaign six years ago, conceded that the great quantity of free advertising given to the idea of equal suffrage by the news reports of the English suffragist activities would be invaluable in bringing the American movement to its culmination. No man here would approve of the English methods, but each had to ask himself, 'What reason can there be for denying women a vote?'"

The "Times" Attack on Militancy

Commenting on the above extract, the *Times*, in its preliminary article on the Pacific Coast States, remarks: "English militant suffragists will not take much consolation from the remarks of one of our correspondents, whose sympathy with the cause is not open to doubt, that 'no man here would approve of English methods.'" Our Answer to the "Times"

We hasten to reply to the *Times* that English militant methods were not adopted by English militant suffragists for amusement, but because the prejudice and inanity which prevented Englishmen from doing justice to women made such methods, after forty years of peaceful agitation, inevitable.

In the United States this has not been the case. American men have not so far denied American women their rights when they wished for their enfranchisement. American politicians have not refused to receive deputations, or to answer questions addressed to them by their countrywomen; nor have they put their countrywomen into prison and inflicted horrible tortures upon them

because they asked democrats to carry their own democratic principles into effect. In a word, American men have so far met unrest among women by wise reform, and that unrest has therefore not been converted into revolution.

How often must we point out this perfectly obvious fact to those who, with Mr. Lloyd George at their head, complain petulantly of the militancy to which they have driven perfectly law-abiding, peace-loving women?

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THE WOMEN'S REVOLUTION

IN THE COURTS

Friday, January 2.—At the Clerkenwell Court, before Mr. Lyecester, the adjourned summons against Inspector Potter for assault on Mr. Robert Atkinson, arising out of disturbances after a suffrage meeting in Bow on December 9, came adjourned.

At the Leeds Quarter Sessions, Miss Hilda Burkett ("A") and Miss Clara Givern ("B") failed to appear when charged with attempting to fire a football stand; they had been released on licence. Suffragist "G" also failed to appear on a charge of window-breaking. Cases to stand over till next Sessions.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested for a fifth time under the Cat and Mouse Act last Saturday night. She was walking along Grove Road, Bow, with a friend when two detectives arrested her. As no taxi-cab was available, the detectives requisitioned a passing tradesman's cart, and in this conveyed Miss Pankhurst to the Hackney Wick Police Station, her friend running with it all the way. Later, she was taken in a taxi-cab to Holloway Gaol. She was to have spoken at a demonstration at the King's Hall, Covent Garden, on Sunday night.

Miss Pankhurst was sentenced on July 8, 1913, to three months imprisonment, in default of being bound over, the charge against her being one of incitement. After a hunger and thirst strike she was released on July 13, and since then has been re-arrested five times. She is, therefore, undergoing her sixth hunger strike since last July.

MISS KITTY MARION

Miss Kitty Marion was re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act on Tuesday evening at the Charing Cross Station. Miss Marion was sentenced last July to three years' penal servitude on a charge of firing the Hurst Park Race Stands, was released on licence after a hunger strike, and was three days later again re-arrested and sentenced to twenty-one days for breaking a window at the Home Office. She was again released on July 17, and since then has been "missing."

COST OF SUFFRAGETTE FIRES

The losses from fire supposed to be attributable to the militant Suffragettes during 1913 have been estimated in the *Times* and other papers at £237,000. What a reflection upon the present Government, who have so mishandled a perfectly legitimate demand for enfranchisement as to drive naturally law-abiding women to arson, and on such an enormous scale as this!

THE MODERN BOGEY

The bogey of a hundred years ago was Bonaparte, and his name was used to frighten refractory children into the paths of virtue. To-day, apparently, it is the Suffragettes, judging by the following incident, related in the *Manchester Guardian*:—

While the Marple Urban District Council was sitting last Monday the council room was suddenly filled with dense smoke. Several councillors rose in alarm. Councillor Whitehead asked: "Is it the Suffragettes?"

Councillor Sherwin: "It is something serious."

Councillor Whitehead: "Well, you won't have far to drop if you jump through the window."

The officers rushed out to ascertain the cause, and the clerk, Mr. J. Ramsbottom, explained that someone had put a cigarette on his celluloid carcass on the mantelpiece.

DEPUTATION TO THE KING

The Women's Social and Political Union announces that it has decided to organize a deputation to the King. The object of this deputation is to protest against the torture of Suffragist prisoners and to demand votes for women. The W.S.P.U., considering that Ministers have degraded themselves by their treatment of the women's question, refuses to approach them further on the subject, and declares that the doctrine that the King must be approached through his Ministers applies only to men, and is not valid in the case of voteless women.

A communication requesting an audience will be sent to the King in due course.

FROM THE PRESS

THE ONLY THING IT DOES!

Official Liberalism continues to live up to its later traditions. Its fire and frowny promises to land-slaves and their brethren come to nothing. It leaves the established tyrannies of Britain to flourish in all their force and foolishness. But it has re-arrested Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and it means to prove to unfranchised woman anew that the resources of the prison torturers are not yet exhausted.—Daily Herald.

GOING TO COST US MORE

Under the title, "Last Year's Militancy Bill," the *Evening Daily Courier* says:—

Counting only damage by fire and ignoring cases below £1,000, as well as those of doubtful authenticity, last year's militancy bill amounted to £237,650 for thirty-three first-class conflagrations. As there were arrested first-class below the £1,000 standard, the total may safely be put at a quarter of a million. This is quite enough to be going on with, but, unfortunately, the political salaried press declares that our Home Secretary is going to sympathize with Mr. McKenna and ask what anybody else could or would do. Prompt answer is forthcoming from Mr. McKenna's official subordinates at Scotland Yard, who have never concealed their opinion that the militant movement, which has done so much to ruin the women's cause, might have been nipped in the bud without much trouble but for a tender regard for votes and personal safety in some quarters.

IM (?)—PERTINENT QUESTIONS

The paper called *Modern Society* includes the following among its "Pertinent Questions" in its last issue. We should have called them "Pertinent Questions." Why Mr. George Lansbury still enjoys his freedom while Mrs. Pankhurst is being "done" to death?

"If the police are afraid to arrest that gentleman, why are they not afraid to arrest that woman?"

"If they have been warned of what is likely to happen at Bow if they do try?"

Long may Mr. Lansbury continue to enjoy his freedom. But that is only an additional reason for urging the Government to be equally wise in their treatment of the Suffragist women prisoners.

MISS GOLDSTEIN ON THE MILITANTS

In a Press interview, Miss Vida Goldstein is reported to have said at Adelaide last month that "the militant movement was the only course" left to the English Suffragists to take "as a protest against the apathy of the Government."

"Meek and Submissive Too Long"

"Women in England," she continued, "have been meek and submissive for so long that they were forced at last to make a stand, just as men strike when they fail to get justice." It has been only since the women abandoned their white kid glove methods that the people have realised the position of English women. A few years ago not many knew about the movement in England, but now the world-wide realises that the women of England want the vote.

WOMEN'S ACTIVE PART IN WAR

The United States Senate has asked for an appropriation to erect a splendid memorial in Washington in recognition of the service rendered by women during the Civil War. By all means, and then don't deny the franchise to women because they cannot serve their country in time of war.—Judge.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

Our readers will be glad to hear that Miss Abadam is making a slow but sure recovery, and hopes to be able to fulfil her speaking engagements in February. She wishes to express her thanks to the friends in all parts of the country whose letters and messages have cheered her during her illness.

WOMEN'S PART IN WAR

In a leaflet, circulated recently as an appeal for the Macedonian Relief Fund, some terrible details are given incidentally of women's part in war.

Chopped Grass for Starving Children
Miss M. E. Durham, the war correspondent, describing the return of the Albanians to their devastated homesteads now that the Balkan war is over, writes:—

"The women crouch in a corner of the blackened roofless walls, and boil chopped grass and beech and dandelion leaves to feed the starving children. At night they crawl into miserable little kennels made of bent twigs and brushwood, that do not keep out the rain. Among many such scenes I remember vividly a woman, with two children, under an umbrella against the lee-side of a wall in the snow—all the shelter they had."

"It Seems Like All My Life"
Miss Durham tells of another family, in the early days of the Balkan War, who had been fleeing for three months in the dead of winter, escaping first one army, then another.

"Of seven children, three had died of exposure. One little girl had got wet through crossing a river, and had frozen in the night. The mother, dazed with misery, did not know how long she had been fleeing. It seems," she said simply, "like all my life."

HOW TO REMOVE OBESITY.

Sufferers should try the following simple prescription: Extract of fucus vesiculosus (4 grains); potassium iodide (3 grains); thyroid gland (3 grains); in one pill. Take one or two pills thrice daily and you will soon feel easier. Thirty-six pills cost 1s. In addition take a saltspoonful of Marienbad salt before breakfast, and massage in a hot bath, with or without soap. These also supplied in 1s. packets.

FOR BAD COMPLEXION, BOILS, ECZEMA, ERUPTIONS, AND PIMPLES ON THE FACE AND BODY.

Try arsenic (1-100th grain); dried sulphate of iron (1/4 grain); calcium sulphide (1/4 grain); extract of nux vomica (1-16th grain); extract of gentian (1 grain); in one pill. Take one or two pills after each meal. Thirty-six pills cost 6d.

FOR ANEMIA WITH CONSTIPATION.

Take nux vomica extract, aloin, iron sulphate of each 1 grain, in one pill. Dose: One pill after meals. Thirty-six pills cost 6d.

FOR IMPURE BLOOD, "ITH SORES AND ULCERS.

Potassium iodide (2 grains); strychnine iodide of iron (5 drops); mercuric chloride (1/64 grain); solution of arsenious and mercuric iodides (2 drops); tincture of nux vomica (2 drops); in one pill. Dose: One or two pills thrice daily. Thirty-six pills cost 6d.

You can obtain the above prescriptions at the chemist named from Mr. William Shadforth, Pharmaceutical Chemist (Dept. V.V.), 63, Grove Road, Bow, London, E.

WOMEN'S ACTIVE PART IN WAR

The United States Senate has asked for an appropriation to erect a splendid memorial in Washington in recognition of the service rendered by women during the Civil War. By all means, and then don't deny the franchise to women because they cannot serve their country in time of war.—Judge.

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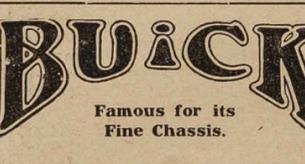
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"AND SHE SHALL BE CALLED WOMAN"

A Note on Some Pictures by G. F. Watts, R.A., O.M. By One Who Knew Him

It would be impossible to find a more exalted conception of the position and influence of woman, than that held by the late Mr. George Frederic Watts. I had the privilege of several talks with the aged artist during the time he was endeavouring to give that conception artistic form. It is well known that the series of "Eve" pictures in the Tate Gallery indicate more this lofty conception, than different phases of the "Fall" legend of Genesis.

One picture, not yet publicly exhibited (as far as I am aware), is perhaps explanatory of this development from the legend illustration to the broader view of woman's function in the economy of humanity. The picture I refer to is now known as "The Birth of the Spiritual," but used to be called "The Birth of Eve." In the changed title there is to be found the mystical interpretation of the story of the Garden of Eden.

Assuming that evolution explains the development of life, we have woman as the latest, and therefore the highest, creation on earth. Darwin called man "the apex and glory of creation"; and the Genesis story suggests that woman rose out of man. Mr. Watts suggests by this and other pictures that woman is the more refined, more spiritual, and latest evolved act of creation. Woman is the spiritual side of mankind. The man side is the animal brought to its highest stage; and out of this stage, the spiritual is born.

In my talks with Mr. Watts, I gathered that he thought this woman or spiritual aspect of humanity is often found in the bodies of many, while in some woman bodies the spiritual, her true nature, is not very apparent. In man, the higher qualities of his human nature, such as love, tenderness, hope, sympathy, are often so splendidly developed that we speak of him as a man with a woman's heart. The ordinary man will treat such a spiritual fellow with contempt. On the other hand, there are individual women who sometimes figure in the police courts, in whom the spiritual qualities appear to be dormant. But the chief thing to note is that the spiritual or true woman side has been born. The picture to which I refer represents a man-form reclining at the base of a tree. From his side there issues a female form, while over these two figures a number of angels send upwards the message that a new spiritual life has come into being.

A companion picture to the "Birth of the Spiritual" shows the same man form at the base of the same tree, in a most despondent attitude. He crouches with his face to the earth. This indicates the materially developed animal, with the animal brain fully alert, whose despondency springs from his consciousness of a higher realm of being to which he has not yet attained. It represents the animal that, having attained its highest, is waiting for the coming of the spiritual.

But, of all the pictures painted by Mr. Watts on this subject, the greatest is that one in the Tate Gallery, called, "And She shall be Called Woman." It is a large canvas, occupied almost entirely by a beautiful woman figure. Her feet are firmly planted on earth among the grasses and wild flowers, while her body reaches up through space and her head is almost lost amid the clouds and light of heaven. The face is but dimly seen, because the head is thrown back in order that the full radiance of heaven may be caught. Earth-bound clouds float about her body, and her hands are posed to indicate that such clouds are but trifling as compared with the glories upon which her eyes look. About her knees are the lily of purity blossoms and the doves of peace, while about her head hovers the butterfly of the soul.

Thus Mr. Watts says in his picture:—Woman is the link between earth and heaven. She stands firmly on earth, but reaches up through clouds to heaven, and in her form catches the highest possible radiance and conveys it to earth. It is possible that the majority of people who look upon this picture when visiting the Tate Gallery do not recognize its beautiful symbolism. I once suggested so much to the artist, and he said: "Ah, yes, but they will soon—the sooner the better! I do not flatter myself that my pictures will be understood at once, by every person who looks at them. I hope it will be with them, as it is with all spiritual things, that the truth will gradually be revealed in them."

It is because I think that to-day, more than ever before, the beautiful idea contained in this picture can be understood, that I call attention to it. The present awakening of Woman is the highest birth yet known in the world.

I knew this picture in the studio of Mr. Watts when it had curled about the body of the woman a wonderfully painted serpent, indicating the evil and the temptation which are reminiscent of the Genesis story. But the artist painted the whole of this serpent out, for he wanted no thought of evil to appear in his picture of Woman. It was a great sacrifice, from an artist's point of view; for the serpent's body was one of the most perfect pieces of work ever done by Mr. Watts. But it was obliterated because the artist wished the thought of the high spiritual mission of woman to remain without a suggestion of the animal-man qualities that sometimes appear in the case of individual women.

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5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
6.—To canvass newsagents with the thought of the high spiritual mission of woman to remain without a suggestion of the animal-man qualities that sometimes appear in the case of individual women.
7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper.
9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

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The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President Lady Forbes-Robertson.

Members of the League have been rendering help to the "Suffrage School" being carried on by the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U. and the Kensington W.S.P.U. Miss Sydney Keith and Miss Winifred Mayo gave lectures on election at St. Mark's Hall, Old Ford, on December 29 and January 2, and on Saturday, January 3, a performance of "How the Vote was Won" was given with great success.

Election classes were given in Kensington on January 5 and 7 by Miss Ruth Parrott, who will give another on Saturday at 3 o'clock. The "Tea Dance" will be on Thursday, January 29, at the Empress Rooms. The Misses Sarah Brooke, Kate Cutler, Miriam Lewis, Doris Letton, Christine Silver, Janette Steer, May Whitty, and Lydia Yavorska will be the "Hostesses."

Miss Olive Terry will be in charge in the ballroom, where some experts will give exhibitions of Tango dancing, after which the dancing will become general, the music being provided by Elderhorst's Band. In addition there will be a delightful entertainment in another room, under the charge of Miss Margaret Busse. The names of the performers will be given next week. Tickets, 4s. 6d.

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Manchester on January 29, at 8.30 p.m. Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare will speak on "Liberal Women and the Franchise" at the Royal Holloway College for the R.H.C. Suffrage Society, at Englefield Green, and at Bedale's School, Petersfield, on February 14.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak on January 29 at the Royal Holloway College for the R.H.C. Suffrage Society, at Englefield Green, and at Bedale's School, Petersfield, on February 14.

At the Suffrage Club on January 13, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare will speak on "Liberal Women and the Franchise." Chair: Mrs. Louis Fagan. And on January 19, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Nott Bower will speak on "Problems in Criminal Law Amendment." Chair: Mr. Cecil Chapman.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a Discussion Meeting at their offices on January 19 at 8 p.m. Opener: Madame Anno Malmberg. On January 21 the League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Cicely Hamilton and others.

The National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on January 21, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. St. Clair Stohart, Miss E. Roper, B.A., and Miss Gore-Booth.

Miss Lind-fel-Haghey will lecture at the Queen's (Small) Hall, on February 5, at 8.15 p.m., on "Sex and Social Evolution."

THE WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

The Women's Tax Resistance League announce a debate in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on January 19, at 8 p.m. The resolution for discussion will be "That this meeting declares that the Insurance Act is undemocratic in character and unjust in operation, and that its hardships press most heavily on women." The proposer will be Miss Margaret Douglas, the opposer Sir Victor Hensley, and the chairman Sir Edward Busk. Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s. can be obtained from the League's offices, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane. There will be some free seats.

THE LONDONER'S MILK

According to the latest scientific theory, the Londoner, especially of the poorer classes, has to choose between drinking milk from which all the valuable properties have been extracted by sterilisation, and drinking milk which contains the germs of disease. A controversy is now going on between certain scientists and certain medical officers of health as to the better of the two courses to pursue.

Call in the Woman's Help For our part we see only one satisfactory solution of the trouble (in which, no doubt, both parties to the discussion would concur), and that is the passing through Parliament of effective legislation which would ensure to the Londoner and everybody else the pure milk that ought to be available in a civilised country such as ours. This is done in countries where women, the housewives of the nation, have the vote. (We have called attention many times to the Pure Milk and Food Laws passed in the enfranchised States of America, for instance, since women vote the vote.)

Reformers who want to see the same sort of legislation passed and enforced in this country should stop wrangling over theories and give women the vote.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, 6, International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Graton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 4, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 51, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 2, Highbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop, 12, Great Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Graton Street, W.

Irish League for Women's Suffrage, The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League, Ancient Concert Buildings, Gr. Brunswick St. Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 35, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Dunton, Peterborough, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 40, 22, Lodge Chambers, Lodge Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 15, Beakingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League, 83, Grand Canal, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League, Bank Buildings, 10, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 11, Grimthorpe Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation, 40-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tottenham, N.E.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Horse Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James, S.W.

Suffrage First Committee, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Beaman's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 83, Suberland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union, 1, Trenchard's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Gooden Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

MEETINGS will be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W., on Tuesday, January 13, at 8.30. Speaker, Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare. Chair, Mrs. Louis Fagan. Subject, "Liberal Women and the Franchise." Thursday, January 15, 8.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Nott Bower. Chair, Mr. Cecil Chapman. Subject, "Problems in Criminal Law Amendment."

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Discussion Meeting at the offices, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, on Monday, January 19, at 8 p.m. Subject, "Is the Woman's Movement Identical with the Eastern Revolutionary Movement?" Opener, Madame Aino Malmberg. Admission free; discussion invited.

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