

THE VOTE

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

VOL. IV. No. 87.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1911.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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

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EDITORIAL.

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

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

The Premier's Pledge.

In reply to a letter from Lord Lytton, asking for reassurance "upon points which still leave room for misgivings," Mr. Asquith stated on Friday, June 16, that the week offered next year for the Women's Bill will be interpreted with "reasonable elasticity"; also that "the Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect not only in the letter, but in the spirit, to the promise in regard to facilities made before the last General Election." As this assurance written over the name of the Prime Minister himself is virtually a Government pledge for full facilities and no mere ambiguous statement out of which a lawyer would find it easy to wriggle were he so disposed, women suffragists have good reason to feel pleased. We venture to think, however, that so explicit a pledge would never have been given had suffragists been satisfied with the vague promise made recently by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons. Furthermore our demand was and is for facilities *this* Session. Suffragists still fail to see why Bills which, to say the least of them, have never adequately been discussed should be supposed to have a prior claim to a measure which has been before the country for the past forty years.

Adding Insult to Injury.

Since the Insurance Bill was first introduced into the House of Commons attention has been repeatedly called in the columns of this paper to the grave injustices it proposes to inflict upon women. On Friday morning last a representative deputation of women, including Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mrs. Ramsay MacDonald, and Miss Mary Macarthur, waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to point out to him the flaws in the Government scheme with regard to women, and urge upon him the necessity of amendments in this respect. According to the reports of the Conference in the daily papers, Mr. Lloyd George seemed to cast doubts on the assertion that women are unfairly treated under this Bill! Adding insult to injury is, of course, only what we must expect so long as women remain unenfranchised. Under

similar circumstances, and with such facts and figures to go upon, we are pretty sure the right honourable gentleman would have been more careful in his choice of language to a deputation of the sex that votes. Such occurrences as this should make us more determined than ever to seek our political emancipation without delay.

Votes and Legislation.

Washington, one of the States of America where women are enfranchised, recently passed an eight-hour law for women. For eight years before women had obtained their political freedom, they had agitated in vain to get such a law passed. Yet in the very first year of their emancipation they succeeded in placing it upon the Statute Book without any difficulty. In Utah, another of the enfranchised States, a nine-hour law for women has just passed the Legislature. Writing in *The Woman's Journal*, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen, Chairman of the Federation's Industrial Committee, says:—"If women had not had the vote we should not have succeeded. The large number of women represented was appalling to the legislator who would like to be re-elected two years hence, and realised that 50,000 votes stood back of that representation. His discomfiture was increased by the knowledge that some of his constituents, who were identified with corporations and special interests, would demand an accounting. The 50,000 votes prevailed." With the remembrance of the millions of overworked women in the United Kingdom, such knowledge makes us even more impatient for the weapon which will help to lighten their labour.

Bad Housekeeping.

A well-known politician, writing in a Sunday paper of the House of Commons, says:—"The life in the House is not only wearying, but very disappointing. Men of great businesses who have been accustomed to see things done have a fierce attack of the blues when they find that all they can do for most of their days in the House is to loaf for hours through the various rooms of that gigantic building, waiting till the division bells ring; and they receive instruction by a nod from the Whip as to which lobby they are to enter." Truly a pretty confession. What would be said, we wonder, of women who managed their affairs so badly! It is high time, indeed, we were allowed to have a say in the national housekeeping, when, on their own showing, men have so miserably failed to keep what they have come to regard as their own House in order.

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THE GREAT WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE PROCESSION OF 1911.

Forty thousand women marching through London. Forty thousand women walking five abreast, with pennants flying, banners held aloft, colours of every hue and shade and gradation blazing in the sun; forty thousand women with faces to the dawn, women of every rank and party and creed and race and colour; women old and young, rich and poor; comrades all in the great cause of freedom; a mighty concourse, indeed, for London and London's Coronation visitors to see, as they swept in imposing strength—through London's highways—a procession seven miles long, to the inspiring music of a hundred bands.

Comradeship.

And this procession meant something more than mere pageant and splendour and colour and movement and song. The beating of drums, the call of the

All the Suffrage societies, militant and non-militant, were represented, University women, professional women, great authors, great artists, great musicians, women engaged in trades and industries, women who work in East-end homes for a sweated wage, mothers, wives, widows, young girls, old women of over seventy years—aye, even some of over four score—walked in the ranks with brave and steadfast mien. The Coronation festival had brought together people from the uttermost ends of England's Empire; these came out to see the procession of marching women; the call of camaraderie spread from the processionists to the waiting watching crowd, and all along the line from the Embankment, through Trafalgar-square, Pall Mall, Piccadilly, Knightsbridge, and on to Kensington, went up again and again a roar of hearty cheering voices; all along the line came the sound of hand-clapping,



WAITING TO START.

music, the sound of many feet, as the rushing of waters, the fine spectacular features, the wonderful organisation—all made a vivid impression upon those who came out to see the biggest and most significant procession of womanhood that has ever walked through the streets of the greatest city of the world. For beneath and above it all there was something which made a deeper impression than could be raised by any ordinary passing show; something which stirred the heart and struck a chord of sympathy in the pulsing breast of the great crowd of onlookers; something which made even those who had come out to laugh, or jeer, or scoff, or even smile indulgently, gaze in respectful, almost reverent, silence as the women, not only of their own nation, but of other great nations of the earth passed by.

Comrades all! Never, perhaps, in the whole history of our great movement was the spirit of comradeship so overwhelmingly evident as on this great occasion.

while words of encouragement and salutation were generously thrown out, in a diversity of tongues, from such a cosmopolitan crowd as London has seldom seen before.

Comrades all! The flying banners, the music, the close shoulder to shoulder march, the genial pleasantries of the crowd, all proclaimed the fact that the days of contempt, of ridicule and of real antagonism to the cause of woman suffrage had gone for ever.

On they come, the great army of women which is to herald the dawn of a newer and brighter day; on they come, the last march of voteless women that London will ever see; on they come, hope and faith and courage, singing a paean in every heart, and giving vitality and animation and vigour to every step. On they come, and as one gazes at the long moving column one's thoughts go flying down the vista of the years. This is the hour nearing triumph—a triumph, however, only made possible by the labour and the suffering,

not only of those who hope soon to reap the harvest, but of the women of the past who bore much of the burden and heat of the day; women who fought bravely against long odds for the sake of coming generations, and who went out sadly into the silence before victory hove in sight.

Along the Route.

At half-past five the procession started from the Embankment, and came swinging along at a good pace up Northumberland-avenue. The roads were packed with such dense crowds that in some parts the police had considerable difficulty in clearing a way for it. This was especially evident at Trafalgar-square, where a surging, swaying multitude was assembled—a good-humoured democratic crowd withal, for there was a singular absence of the old time-worn requests to "go home and do the washing" or "mend father's socks," which suffragists have become so used to hearing. Instead, one heard such encouraging remarks as "Keep it up, mother!" "Now we shan't be long!" "Step out, ladies—you'll get it!" "Keep old Asquith up to the

boards, tuck them under their arms, and slink along in somewhat sheepish fashion on the outskirts of the crowd, their painful and humiliating retreat being followed by such sarcastic expressions on the part of suffrage sympathisers as "Where's the Antis to-day?" "Why don't Lord Cromer carry 'is own boards?" and "That's right, Tommy, glad to see yer've chucked it!"

How they Marched.

Perhaps the finest point from which one could see the procession was in Piccadilly, outside the Green Park. Standing among the crowd here, one obtained a splendid view of the cortege as it came down the slope of the hill with the gorgeous, changing, scintillating, iridescent colours of the banners flashing in the sun. In front rode Mrs. Drummond, on a splendid charger; then came the colour-bearer, Miss Charlotte Marsh, followed by Joan of Arc (Miss Annan Bryce) in armour, on a white palfrey. She rode in front of the New Crusaders, a group symbolising the militant and idealistic organisation of women in a Holy War, to reassert the rights to possess the Sacred Places. Each crusader wore a royal mantle of



THE SWEATED WORKERS' CONTINGENT OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

mark!" "Hooray for the women!" and "My! ain't they a dandy lot! Despard's a winner!"

THE VOTE and "Votes for Women" sold like wild-fire; one seller of THE VOTE got rid of fifteen dozen copies in less than an hour. "The Common Cause" was also in great demand, and suffragist literature, badges and colours of the Freedom League, postcards of Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How-Martyn and other prominent W.F.L. members found ready buyers. One really grotesque, yet almost pathetic incident marked the passage of the women. Lord Cromer's Anti-Suffrage Society had sent out a contingent of sandwich-men, who, it was intended, should carry boards proclaiming, in huge red letters, on a white ground, "Women Do Not Want the Vote." A few of the men who had the temerity to put up the challenge and endeavour to carry it were so chafed and badgered and hustled and laughed at that they found it impossible to hold their positions, with the result that they were forced to lower the

purple and a gleaming head-gear symbolising her faith in the Cause, and carried a glittering lance, showing her courage and perseverance. These preceded the W.S.P.U. Committee officials, headed by Mrs. Pankhurst, who were followed by the Prisoners' Pageant, representing 700 imprisonments. The prisoners were dressed in white and carried lances with pennants of purple, white and green, shot with silver. In the Historical Pageant marched groups of historical women who in ancient days were summoned to Parliament; women governors and custodians of castles, women high sheriffs and women justices of the peace. Subsequently came the voteless women (after the Reform Bill of 1832) including Florence Nightingale, Grace Darling, Charlotte Brontë, Jenny Lind and others, some of them wearing early Victorian bonnets and crinolines.

The Empire Pageant.

The Empire Pageant was preceded by a magnificent car followed by women carrying garlands of roses, the

emblem of England. The figures in the car symbolised the unity of the Empire. Then came Scotland, preceded by women pipers in Highland dress and carrying staves crowned with a lion rampant (the emblem of Scotland); in succession came Wales with a choir of Welsh singers, chanting their national songs, dressed in picturesque national costumes and carrying the emblem of Wales (the red Dragon). Members of the Irish Women's Franchise League walked in the Irish Section, and were headed by pipers in national dress. The women wore "colleen bawn" cloaks in emerald green, and carried gilded Irish harps. New Zealand (with the fern-tree emblem) being the first country in the British Empire to give women the vote, was fittingly led by Lady Stout, wife of Sir Robert Stout, the Lord Chief Justice of New Zealand. Australia, the country where the women of the Commonwealth won the vote in King Edward VII.'s coronation year, had a number of representative women walking under its banner. Among these were Mrs. Fisher, wife of the Prime Minister of Australia; Lady Cockburn, wife of Sir John Cockburn, Agent-General for South Australia; Miss Vida Goldstein, leader of the Women's party in Victoria; Mrs. McGowan, wife of the Premier of New South Wales, and Lady Macmillan. Canada was well represented, Mrs. Douglas McIntosh, member of the Canadian National Council of Women, walking in its ranks. South Africa followed, and included Mrs. Saul Solomon, Miss Nina Boyle and Mrs. J. W. Sauer, wife of the Rt. Hon. J. W. Sauer, of the Union Cabinet. The Indian Section was exceedingly picturesque, a number of emancipated Indian women walking in their national costume.

The International Contingents.

All the countries of the civilised world sent contingents to walk in the great procession. Under the flag of France marched Mme. Schmahl, founder of *L'Avant Courier*, and founder and Vice-President of the French Union for Women's Suffrage. America was headed by three horsewomen, and was followed by the leaders of the Women's Trade Union League in Chicago. In the Finland section was Mme. Malmberg, authoress, lecturer, and correspondent for Finland newspapers. Sweden was represented by Mrs. Estberg Read and Miss Anderson in national costume, and Denmark by Mrs. Glave.

The Pageant of Queens.

The pale blue banners and pennants of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Association made a fine show, and then came the beautiful pageant of Queens, Queen Bertha, on a white horse, with two mounted attendants, and after her, Boadicea, Ethelflaed, Queen Eleanor, Catherine of Aragon, Jane Seymour, Lady Jane Grey, Mary Queen of Scots, Henrietta Maria, and Queen Victoria.

Actresses' Franchise League.

Following the new Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, was the Actresses' Franchise League, with a fine scheme of colouring in pink and green. Arches of greenery, and festoons of lovely pink flowers were carried, and bouquets of pink roses and foliage were borne on the top of long white staves. Among those who walked with the actresses were Miss Decima Moore, Mrs. Forbes Robertson, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Lena Ashwell, and Miss Lilian Braithwaite. The musicians' group included Dr. Ethel Smyth, the great English composer, walking in her robes, Miss Esther Palliser, Mme. Brema and others.

The Women's Freedom League.

Cheer after cheer greeted the Women's Freedom

League, as its beautiful display of green, white and gold came into sight. Our loved leader, Mrs. Despard headed the contingent. Her distinguished, erect figure, as she walked swiftly by, a flash of fire in her eyes, and the sweet, gracious smile we all know on her lips, was the signal for a tremendous demonstration. Men held up their caps, women waved their handkerchiefs; some rushed forward to catch a look of recognition as she passed, and many a salutation reached her from the men and women who count her as a friend and comrade in all humane and progressive causes. "Good luck!" "God bless you!" "Keep going!" "Good old French," were a few of the phrases one caught, while a soldier called out, "Here's the old warrior!" and another "Stick it, missus, how's the general?"

Borne by Mrs. Tippett, in front of our President, was the beautiful banner designed by the Suffrage Atelier, in the colours of the League, with its motto "Dare to be Free" on a gold background, and two finely painted figures of buglers in green on either side.

The members of the National Executive Committee, including Mrs. How-Martyn, the militant organiser, and Miss Constance Tite, the treasurer, came next. Every member of the Executive wore a beautifully embroidered badge, with a monogram in green, white, and gold, also the work of the Suffrage Atelier, which Society was, in fact, responsible for the whole scheme of the League's decoration, and for the designs of the principal banners carried in it.

The branches, marshalled by Miss Corben, followed with their banners, every processionist carrying a gilt staff surmounted with laurel and other evergreens. The branches represented were: Acton, Anerley, Clapham, Croydon, Dulwich, Finchley, Hackney, Hampstead, Harrow, Herne Hill, Highbury, Mid-London, Northern Heights, Stamford Hill, Tottenham, West Hampstead, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Barry, Caldicot, Cardiff, Swansea, Sale, Chester, Eccles, Liverpool, Manchester (Central), Urmston, Middlesbrough, South Shields, Hadleigh, Ipswich, Brighton (Hove), Eastbourne, Portsmouth and Gosport, Cheltenham, Marlow, Potteries, Sheffield, Wellingborough, Wolverhampton, and York.

Gallant little Wales sent a contingent from the Cardiff Progressive Women's Liberal Union, with a fine banner, "We Stand for Justice First." This was the union of Liberal women which withheld support from the Liberal candidate at the last General Election because he was opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THE VOTE banner followed, with VOTE sellers and literary contributors marshalled by Miss Fennings, walking in its train. Mrs. Powell, one of our indefatigable VOTE sellers, who was helping to carry the banner, and who is a familiar figure at most of our VOTE-selling stations, met with a very cordial reception. The fine Holloway Prison banner, with Holloway Gaol silhouetted in black against a brilliant gold background, and the words, "Stone Walls Do Not a Prison Make" standing out in relief, came next, marshalled by Miss Dickeson. Miss Irene Miller headed the prisoners' section. A smaller banner, depicting Holloway Gaol in green on a sackcloth foundation, was carried for seventy-three women who had gone to gaol for the cause.

The prisoners' section made a deep impression and the banner bearers were heartily and continuously cheered all the way along the route. It is evidently no longer considered a "disgrace," but a high honour to have suffered for what was once an unpopular but is now a popular cause.

The Police-Court Protests banner, marshalled by Miss Turner, and followed by fourteen members of the League, bore the words: "Legislation without Representation is Slavery—Police-Court Protests initiated in 1907 by the Women's Freedom League." Next to this was carried the Tax Resistance banner, showing that the Women's Freedom League initiated tax resistance in 1907.

The Grille Protest banner, depicting the grille and the chains, came next, followed by deputies for Miss Muriel Matters and Miss Helen Fox; and then the Picketers' banner, followed by a large number of representatives of this famous protest, marshalled by Mrs. de Vismes. The Picketers' banner bore the words: "729 Hours were Spent in Picketing the House of Commons to Exercise the Subjects' Right of Petitioning the King's Ministers." The picketers made a brave show with their flying pennants of green, of gold, and of white. The Bermondsey Ballot-Box banner, which celebrated the ballot-box protest made by Mrs. Chapin and Miss Alison Neilans, chronicled the fact that the protest was initiated in 1909 by the League.

Twenty-one members, carrying white flags, were headed by a fine banner, chronicling that only constitutional methods were employed during the truce; after them came the Census resisters' banner, then seven banners representing Suffrage Bills that have passed their second reading. Following a splendid banner with a painting of the figure of a councillor in full robes came a number of men and women carrying staves with the coats of arms and names of town councils which have passed resolutions in favour of Votes for Women. These were marshalled by Miss Browitt, and formed one of the most impressive and finely arranged contingents of the whole procession. The fine banner with the words "Six Million Women Workers Need the Vote" was greeted with tremendous applause; the Graduates' banner, behind which walked our University graduates marshalled by Miss Thompson, had a design depicting mortar board, book, pen and inkpot, the insignia of the student; the teachers, under the marshalship of Miss Mitchell, bore aloft another emblematical banner; and the Civil Servants (Marshal, Miss Woolf) carried a fine design with a painting of a Government Office upon it.

The nurses (Marshal, Miss Kent), with the red cross on gold, were vociferously applauded; then came the banner of the athletes, with dumb-bells and clubs on their banner (marshalled by Miss Gugenheim), while the banner of the agriculturists, with Miss Cressy as Marshal, had sheaves of golden corn painted on a background of green.

The business and professional women (Marshal, Miss Neilans) carried a banner on which were shown, scales weights, and other office paraphernalia; the women factory workers (Marshal, Miss Lansbury) followed on, bearing a brilliant banner with a splendidly produced reproduction of a factory town. The sweated women workers, those who toil for long hours, many of them doing Government work for a bare pittance, some of them matchbox makers at 2½d. a gross, finding their own paste and string; others ground down to a starvation wage at shirt making, trouser finishing or boot machining, all of them more sorely needing political enfranchisement than any other members of the whole community, walked in the Freedom League section and earned a sympathetic cheer all along the line. "Women do not need the Vote!" Here was an object-lesson for the fine ladies of the Anti-Suffragist League, who in their comfortable self-satisfaction do not comprehend or realise how rough are the roads their poorer sisters have to tread, or how many, worn out by suffering and privation, fall in exhaustion by the way. It was fitting that the banner bearing the injunction, "Rise, ye Women that be at Ease," should follow this contingent of workers.

The thanks of every member of the Women's Freedom League are due to Miss Le Mesurier for the splendid



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way in which she organised the whole of the W.F.L. section. Her untiring energy and devotion, however, had their reward in the brilliant results which crowned her efforts. Nor should we forget to mention the services of Mrs. Harvey, one of our most enthusiastic workers, to whose initiative and enterprise was due the fine array of carriages so beautifully decorated with the colours of the League. These were adorned with long trails of smilax on white ropes. Beautiful banners with our motto, "Dare to be Free," hung from the sides and backs of the carriages, while behind the coachmen were also banners in the colours, and huge masses of marguerites were arranged in artistic profusion, making a fine effect and creating universal admiration.

Other Suffrage Societies.

After the Women's Freedom League came other notable societies, including the National, Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, the Lancashire and Cheshire Women Workers' Representative Committee, and the Manchester, Salford and District Women's Trade Council. One of the banners of the latter society bore the words: "Why should no Woman's Trade be Insured against Unemployment?"

The Church League for Women's Suffrage had a fine banner in gold and white, and a great many clergymen walked with them; marching behind them was the Church Socialist League, and this was followed by the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society. The Free Church League for Women's Suffrage had a very fine banner, on which was inscribed, "Arise! it is Dawn."

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was led by Mrs. Henry Fawcett and carried banners in symbolic designs. The University section and the Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union were represented in large numbers, and the Women Writers' Suffrage League carried the beautiful new banner, designed by W. H. Margeson. Miss Elizabeth Robins,

(Continued on Page 116.)

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SATURDAY, June 24, 1911.

THE VOTE AND AFTER.

At this moment, when our first victory seems to loom in sight, and when yet the fate of our Bill hangs in the balance, it is natural and right that, turning aside from the immediate political situation, though never, for a single instant, forgetting it, we should throw our minds into the future and consider how we shall use the instrument which will soon be in our hands.

To see visions and dream dreams is the heritage and joy of humanity. Woman for ages has been dreaming. The time has come when her dreams are to take shape, when she is to help to mould her nation outwardly as she has moulded it inwardly; and inevitably the question arises—we have heard it expressed in many forms—how is this to be done? What will the effect of her political action be? Specially should this be asked by us of the Women's Freedom League, because, as our very name implies, we started on our course with a great ideal before us; and, if that be true which was said by a modern philosopher, "A nation never rises permanently above the level of its women," then it must also be true that our thought and action now will have a serious effect not upon ourselves only but upon the whole of society.

Let us then consider how we may enlarge our horizon and what work we could immediately take in hand. Many of us would give a high place to municipal activities. One of the gibes thrown at women by their opponents is that they have the municipal vote and do not use it. This may be untrue or it may be exaggerated. It is indeed true that neither men nor women generally have anything like an adequate idea of what righteous administration of even imperfect laws might mean to the community, or of the deep importance of understanding the nature and meaning of the laws that now exist. Surely women would come more effectively into political life if they were already closely in touch with municipal life—if they knew not only the merits but the defects of the laws that regulate their cities, their streets, their markets, their workshops and their homes. Unfortunately, in municipal affairs, much the same course is pursued as in national politics. It is only at election times that the electorate take, or are asked to take, any particular interest in those things which so deeply affect themselves.

Municipal meetings of men and women, attended by their representatives, should be much more frequent, and organised visits to women householders or municipal voters, not only at election contests, but at other times, should be set on foot, when the visitor, instructed herself in municipal law and in the special needs of the district, would pass on her knowledge to those who, bound to home and business, have no means of gaining such knowledge by themselves. It is not difficult to imagine how such a campaign, carried on with tact and enthusiasm, would bring light into dull and monotonous lives, and would create a new, vivid interest in municipal affairs.

Then education! The force of public opinion brought to bear upon statesmen and politicians has drawn the child into political life. The mother was bound to follow. When her foot is within the barrier that has shut her out from citizenship, it is for the infant, the child, the adolescent she will work. The recognition of the mother's importance and the mother's work by such a legal settlement as will secure her economic independence—efficient medical treatment for mothers and

their infants; open spaces and gardens for the growing child, a school curriculum that will prepare boys and girls for the true, beautiful and necessary work of life, properly-equipped dining-halls and school-clinics, available for all the schools in the country, limited hours of labour for young workers, with free and compulsory technical education—these are some of the reforms which, as regards the child, we may hope to bring to pass in the future.

The tendency of the day is to reduce labour; indeed, strange as it may seem to the uninitiated, this is one of the perils of our civilisation. Each of the new, delicately-constructed machines that comes into the market is throwing industrious men and women into the horror of unemployment or into insignificant and poorly-rewarded labour. And this, as Olive Schreiner has pointed out in her "Woman and Labour," tells much more disastrously upon women than upon men. Women-citizens must see to it that the work of superintendence and the mental work which is required to co-operate these new industrial departments, with the careful inspection demanded by sanitary regulations, shall not be in the hands of men only, but that women shall have their share, and that, so far at least as Government work is concerned, the reward of the woman shall equal the reward of the man.

We hope that when the forces which have been evoked by the suffrage movement and, to a large extent, bound up in it are released, women will set themselves to the business of obtaining a revision and a consequent reform of the laws that regulate marriage, divorce, the rights of inheritance and of parenthood.

Let it be understood that our aim is the emancipation of woman, and that, to this, the vote is but the initial stage. As to the form our further progress is to take, or the relative importance of the ensuing changes, we may differ. One point alone is certain. We are not satisfied. Had we been completely satisfied with the state of Society, with the laws that control us, with our own position and that of our children, the suffrage agitation would never have reached its present dimensions. The women who are tamely ready, when the vote is won, to step down into the men's political parties have not in the least understood the true meaning of the present conflict. Women have not set themselves against men because it was their pleasure, but because it was their destiny.

We believe, however, that the number of those to whom the vote means nothing but a new surrender is few. It is our conviction that during these years of delay, of suffering and of revelation, many a hard truth has been brought to light, many a danger-signal has been perceived. What is necessary now is that those who have awakened to the urgency of the situation shall not, when their captivity is turned, "be as those who dream." Rather with thought, with knowledge, with love for the great world that is to be, let them draw their forecast! Banding themselves together constitutionally, working for and with their brothers, accepting help but refusing domination, let them, with calmness and determination, face the future, having in them the spirit breathed by a modern mystic. "No vicarious atonement will satisfy the instincts of the true lovers of reality. They desire life (not protection, but life), "with all its misfortunes and accidents—the high, heroic life of the chivalry of God."

C. DESPARD.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The pressure upon our space being unusually great this week owing to report of the procession, &c., we regret that we are obliged to hold over until our next issue the account of the Kensington Town Hall meeting, and other important matter.

WE swell with pride at the triumph of our success; but it is tyranny and scorn that whip us to action.—*A New Sav.*

VOTES FOR WOMEN NEXT YEAR.

The hopes which were raised by Sir Edward Grey's speech at the National Liberal Club on June 2 are to be fully realised. Mr. Asquith, in his reply to Lord Lytton's letter, is quite explicit on this point, Sir Edward Grey accurately expressed "the intentions of the Cabinet."

We quote Sir Edward Grey's speech as given in *The Manchester Guardian*. He said:—

I want to say a very few words to prevent misapprehension about what the Government has said on the subject. It is a very serious matter that the House of Commons should year by year have been getting itself into an invidious and discreditable position by passing second readings of a Bill again and again, and not showing whether it is determined to proceed with it. It is due to the House that it should have an opportunity of getting out of that position. I resent very much the attacks which have been made on the assumption that either the Government or the House of Commons in the years which are just past could have done more than they have done. The time having now come when a definite opportunity has been promised to the House of Commons, it is important that people interested in the subject should understand that that is a real opportunity, and that neither on the part of the Government which makes it, nor on the part of the House which accepts it is it a bogus offer. (Cheers.)

I would like to remove two misapprehensions which, I hear, are possible with regard to that offer. It is suggested that the week proposed by the Government cannot possibly be sufficient for the two stages of the Bill—Committee, Report, and Third Reading—and that being so it is suggested that even if the House completes the Committee stage in a week, then the Government will at once intervene, though only one or two days are wanted for the future stages, and having fulfilled the letter of its promise will use all its machinery to prevent those two days taking place. That is not a reasonable interpretation of the Government offer. They are not pledged to more than a week, but to suppose that if the House of Commons in a week showed itself to have a combined, determined majority, substantial and united, anxious to proceed with the Bill—to suppose that the Government would then use all its Whips and machinery to say that even though one or two days only more were required it would use all its influence to prevent those two days being used—that is not a reasonable interpretation of the offer. They are pledged to nothing more than a week, but they are not pledged at the end of a week, if the House of Commons wishes to proceed, to step in and intervene.

It is also suggested that a week might be useless because the promoters of the Bill will be the mere helpless butt for obstruction during the week without any powers of defence, making themselves and the Bill ridiculous. That is not the intention of the Government offer. The intention, of course, is that those who are interested in the Bill, its promoters and supporters, should have a fair chance which any people ought to have of defending themselves by the means which the rules of the House place at the disposal of majorities for defending themselves against obstruction, and for making reasonable progress. The whole question is now in a new situation, in which it is open for those who are in favour of it to devote the interval which must elapse between this year and next to so combining their efforts as to make the best use of what is a real opportunity in which effective progress may be made. (Cheers.)

Lord Lytton, the chairman of the Conciliation Committee, then wrote the following letter to Mr. Asquith:—

June 1, 1911.

DEAR MR. ASQUITH.—The statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on behalf of the Government with reference to facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill in the House of Commons next Session is being widely discussed at this moment and no one seems to be quite clear as to the exact meaning of the Government proposal. All the advocates of Women's Suffrage would, I think, be satisfied if they could only feel sure that the opportunity to be provided for the consideration of this question next Session would be an effective one, but some of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's answers to supplementary questions which were addressed to him in the House of Commons on Monday last have given rise to doubts and misgivings on this point.

The Conciliation Committee has met and considered the Government proposal, and while its members are anxious to accept the proposal in the most sympathetic manner, they desire some reassurance upon points which still leave room for misgivings, and I was asked to find out from you whether they are justified in the interpretation which they have put upon the decision of the Cabinet. May I enumerate briefly these points, and ask you to say if we have interpreted them correctly?

1. We understand that the Government intend the House of Commons to have an effective opportunity of passing a Woman's Suffrage Bill into law next Session if so disposed, and that the week offered is not intended merely to provide an opportunity for a prolonged academic debate.

2. We assume that the week offered to us will not be interpreted in an absolutely rigid sense, and that if the Bill had passed

through Committee within that time the two extra days required for its report and third reading stages would not be refused.

3. We also assume that the promoters of the Bill would have the ordinary facilities of the closure which would be available in the case of a Government Bill. We cannot help being disappointed that no further progress is to be made with our Bill this Session, but if you can reassure us upon the points which I have mentioned you will remove a great deal of very natural anxiety.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

LYTTON.

To which Mr. Asquith replied:—

June 15, 1911.

MY DEAR LYTTON.—In reply to your letter on the subject of facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, I would refer you to some observations recently made in a speech at the National Liberal Club by Sir Edward Grey, which accurately express the intentions of the Cabinet.

It follows (to answer your specific inquiries) that the "week" offered will be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, that the Government will oppose no obstacle to a proper use of the closure, and that if, as you suggest, the Bill gets through Committee in the time proposed, the extra days required for report and third reading would not be refused.

The Government, though divided in opinion on the merits of the Bill, are unanimous in their determination to give effect, not only in the letter but in the spirit, to the promise in regard to facilities which I made on their behalf before the last General Election.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

H. H. ASQUITH.

Our course is therefore clear. We had all hoped that it was to be victory this year, but welcome gladly the certainty of victory next year.

In the interval we must make our acceptance of the pledge known far and wide and win still more support for our already popular cause.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

TAX RESISTANCE IN WOLVERHAMPTON.

"Love me, love my dog," is an adage which we are not sure a wife is entitled to use. When the authorities—the Wolverhampton police—first enquired into the ownership of my dog, my husband repudiated all claim; consequently, in default of taking out a licence, I was committed to prison and served seven days in the third division. On my release I made known my intention of continuing to refuse to take out a licence. The police are trying to assert their authority, and on Friday last served me with three summonses—one for keeping a dog without a licence, a second for keeping a ferocious dog, and a third for keeping a ferocious dog without proper control; and a fourth was served on Mr. Sproson "for aiding, abetting and procuring one Emma Sproson to keep a dog without a licence."

The first charge is the same as the one for which I have already served seven days, thereby causing the authorities to assert that I was the responsible individual; the second and third are the grossest possible libel on poor "Gip," and are brought forward as a means of hampering my protest.

The fourth is one which we as suffragists need to enquire into with the most careful consideration. The police see that nothing can be got from me except such suffering as they shall impose on my person. The public support I have received has evidently only had the effect of making the police determined to stop me somehow. So the musty old law of coverture has been brought into action. Under this law they say the husband can be coerced against his will into responsibility for the action of his wife. He has distrainable goods, and these can be seized until he cannot resist the power of the law any longer. Whether the authorities know quite well where they stand remains to be seen.

Their position may be made more clear to my readers than it is to themselves by the following questions which were put to me by Mr. Sproson:—If I took out a licence without any regard to your opinions, what would you do? I replied that I should get another dog. If I killed your dog, what then? I replied that I should get another dog. If I told you you must discontinue keeping a dog or leave my roof, what should you do? I replied—I should leave your roof, and I should cease to regard you as a husband and consider you a tyrant.

So the wise men of Wolverhampton have to decide whether a husband has the right to turn his wife from his house or to act as though she is a responsible human being who ought to have the same human rights as himself. Many of my critics will say—it is pushing a protest to extremes to appear to think more of a dog than of a husband, home and children. But I reply it is a principle that is at stake. I once learnt a lesson which struck root right down into my nature, as Ibsen puts it, and this is that the worship of one fragment of the golden calf is as much idolatry as the worship of the whole calf. There are many reformers—too many, perhaps—and what differentiates the true reformer from the false is the true sacrifices—all if need be not caring for consequences—the false always have their limit.

EMMA SPROSON.

COMRADES ALL!

(Continued from Page 113.)

the President, led the Society, and among the distinguished writers who walked in this contingent were Madame Sarah Grand, Mrs. Baillie Weaver, Mrs. Havelock Ellis, Lady McLaren, Lady Meyer, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Hertha Ayrton, and Mrs. Zangwill. The Artists' Suffrage League followed the writers, and then came the Suffrage Atelier with a fine banner. Space forbids more than a brief mention of the remaining Societies, which included the Order of Universal Co-Freemasonry, with Mrs. Annie Besant, the eminent President of the Theosophical Society, walking at its head; the Ethical Societies, the Women's Tax Resistance League, West Essex Women's Suffrage Society, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Fabian Women's Group, the Pharmacists, Women Sanitary Inspectors, and Health Visitors' Suffrage Group, Gardeners, Kindergarten teachers, and others.

In the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement it was fine to see, leading it, four ex-prisoners—Alfred J. Abbey, Hugh A. Franklin, Victor Duval and George Jacobs. Their banner read: "We fight the Government that refuses British Women the Parliamentary Vote." Among the distinguished men walking in the Union were Henry W. Nevinson and Frank Rutter. The Men's League for Women's Suffrage and the Men's Committee for Justice to Women were also represented. LOUISA THOMSON-PRICE.

A MESSAGE TO OUR WORKERS.

Miss Le Meseurier wishes to offer her sincere thanks to the many workers who helped to make the Women's Freedom League section of the procession so great a success. Acknowledgment is due to the splendid way in which the marshals worked. Miss Clayton, as a banner marshal, did yeoman service, and Miss Corben's help in organising the branches was invaluable. Others who rendered fine service were Miss Turner (who organised the protests), Miss Dickeson (prisoners' section), Miss Browitt (municipal section), Mrs. Vulliamy (graduates' section), Miss Mitchell (teachers), Miss Woolf (civil servants), Miss Kent (nurses), and Miss Hetty Cowen (factory workers). Miss Lansbury deserves special thanks for personally organising and bringing up the sweated workers from Bow. Mrs. Harbord admirably arranged the tea given by a member of the League to this contingent. Mrs. Harvey (carriage section) writes:—"I received very great help and courtesy from the men at Messrs. Hearn's Livery Stables, Gray's Inn-road; all of them worked willingly and showed great interest, and the wife of the manager and three other ladies connected with the establishment also helped us most kindly and encouragingly."

IN MEMORIAM.

I have the sorrow of recording that Mrs. E. Cranstone, a devoted friend of our cause and a fighter in the militant movement, passed away on Saturday a few hours before our great procession started. She sent a message through her nurse wishing every success to the meeting at Kensington Town Hall.

Mrs. Cranstone was arrested with me and other members of the W.F.L. for trying to present a petition to the Prime Minister at Downing-street. This occasion will be remembered for the magnificent defence made by Mr. Timothy Healy. Sentence, however, was passed; but unknown persons paid the fine, to Mrs. Cranstone's great indignation.

I remember also that at our procession meeting of last year she sent a generous donation to the League and to myself a beautiful sheaf of flowers.

Requiescat in pace, dear and beautiful comrade
C. DESPARD.

Will the lady who took charge of a mackintosh coat for Mrs. Van Raalte during the procession, on Saturday, please return it to the W.F.L. Office at once?

**SMEE & CO.,
Ladies' Tailors.**



WILL Ladies kindly note that by placing their orders early they receive the best of attention? We have procured an advance selection of early SPRING MATERIAL and DESIGNS, so as to save our Customers being disappointed.

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PERFECTLY TAILOR MADE by the best West End Tailors, each garment being cut and fitted personally by Mr. Smee.

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TRY OUR 21/- SKIRT For Walking, Golfing, and Morning Wear.

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WAYS TO HELP.

How I Formed a Branch of the Women's Freedom League
I have been asked to give an account of the way I set to work to form a new branch of the W.F.L.

First of all I called on three neighbours who I knew were in sympathy with the movement, and asked them to come to my house one evening to discuss the possibility of forming a branch. This meeting was successfully held, and all promised to try to bring friends to the next one, which was fixed for a week later. I sent notices to THE VOTE, announcing that we were holding weekly meetings, asking W.F.L. members and sympathisers to come. At our next meeting we had quite a nice gathering as all brought friends, to whom I gave a short account of the objects and policy of the W.F.L. I found that several had an idea that to join the League meant that every one must be prepared to be extremely militant, and possibly to go to prison. I managed to disabuse them of this view. During the week, between the two meetings, I had called on several acquaintances in the neighbourhood, and got some of them to become members. A few of these were able to put me on the track of others who they thought would be likely to come in. Some did join, and I am still, in my limited spare time, calling on those whose names have been given me. From every one I ask for names of likely members, so that I am enlarging my branch somewhat on the "snow-ball" system.

We arranged a few open air meetings, and having obtained enough members to form a branch, we asked Mrs. How Martyn formally to perform the inauguration ceremony. This was done at a very successful public meeting in a local hall, and resulted in a financial profit and further members.

JEANNETTE VAN RAALTE.

RELIGION is not a label, but an element of character. It is not a declaration, but a life.—John C. Learned.

NATIONAL FUND.

Branch and District Funds not Included.

Amount previously acknowledged, October, 1907, to December, 1910, £11,595 3s. 2d.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
Amount previously acknowledged	1,574	12	11	Miss I. E. Baulke	0	2	6
Miss C. Tite (collected)	2	0	0	Miss M. A. Woods	0	5	0
Miss Hammill	0	5	0	Mrs. M. de Gruchy	0	1	3
Mrs. Clark	0	1	0	Sindel	0	1	6
Mrs. H. E. Tull	0	1	0	Miss R. Tigg	0	7	6
Mrs. E. M. Whyte	0	2	6	Miss A. Mocatta	0	2	0
Mrs. B. H. Jones	0	2	6	Mrs. A. Lane	0	2	0
Miss E. L. Olding	0	1	0	Mrs. W. Holdam	0	10	6
Miss J. P. Olding	0	1	0	Barron	0	2	0
Mrs. Goodacre	0	2	0	Mrs. L. J. Moore	0	2	0
Miss R. Slate	0	1	0	Miss M. Drimmie	0	2	0
Miss F. V. Mammooch	0	1	0	Miss A. V. Baughan	0	2	6
Mrs. M. Hart	0	1	0	Miss A. I. Laws	0	3	0
Mr. and Mrs. Hart	0	4	0	Miss M. Norton	0	2	0
Miss E. K. Biggar	0	1	0	Miss D. Allwork	0	2	0
Miss Hurry	0	2	6	Miss G. Snelling	0	2	0
Per Mrs. How Martyn:				Mrs. L. Harrison	0	2	0
Dr. M. Hess	0	2	6	J. Gordon, Esq.	0	2	6
Collecting box:				Miss G. Mordhurst	0	5	0
Mrs. Pickering	0	13	1	Mrs. C. Scrimgeour	0	10	0
Capitation Fees:				H. Fry, Esq.	0	10	0
Clapham Branch	0	5	0	Mrs. A. Larkcom	0	10	0
Swansea Branch	0	12	6	Jacobs	0	10	0
For Office Expenses:				E. H. Railton, Esq.	0	10	0
Miss Danti	1	0	0	Miss J. W. Cain	0	2	6
Per Miss Manning:				Miss E. J. Sweet	0	5	0
Anonymous	0	4	6	Miss E. N. Harvey	0	5	6
Anonymous	0	2	1	Miss Danti	0	10	0
Lecture fee	0	10	6	Mrs. J. Russell	1	1	0
Mr. Beanland	0	1	0	Miss Neal	0	2	6
Mrs. Beanland	0	1	0	Miss Phipps	0	5	0
Mrs. Jones	0	1	0	Miss P. A. Howard	0	5	0
Mrs. Derbyshire	0	1	0	Miss Busby (collecting box)	0	4	2
Collection, Urnston	0	1	8	Miss M. Burr	0	3	6
Sales of tea and coffee	1	7	5	Miss C. Harvey	0	1	0
Per Miss Sidley:				Mrs. C. Laurence	0	5	0
Ipswich	0	6	1	Per Miss Tite:			
Per Mrs. Fowler Shone:				Miss Condy	0	10	6
Drawing-room Meeting	0	4	6	Anonymous	0	8	0
Per Miss Tite:				Per Mrs. Fisher:			
Mrs. Harbord's Garden Meeting	0	9	0	Mrs. Clarkson Swann	0	8	6
Per Mrs. How Martyn, P. and M. Dept:				Per Miss L. Elderton:			
Miss A. Scott, M.A.	0	2	6	Anonymous	0	10	0
Anonymous	0	1	0	Per Miss Neilans:			
Miss Reeves	0	6	0	Horne Hill Branch (collection)	0	7	0
Procession Donations:				Per Miss J. Fennings:			
Mrs. Zangwill	5	0	0	Mrs. Grogan	0	2	0
Miss McGilchrist Gilchrist	5	0	0	Per Mrs. Despard:			
Mrs. Wall Cousins	1	1	0	Lady L. Treacher	2	2	0
Mrs. Tudor	1	1	0	Per Miss Fennings:			
Mrs. Despard	1	0	0	Miss Goff	1	0	0
George Byham, Esq.	1	0	0	"A Man Sympathiser"	0	2	6
Mrs. M. Sargant				Collection	0	0	6
Florence	2	2	0	Per Mrs. Vulliamy:			
Miss E. Reid	0	7	6	Miss M. M. W. Reid	1	1	0
Miss E. Murray	0	1	0	Per Mrs. Tanner:			
Mrs. Murray	1	0	0	Mrs. Freke	1	0	0
Mrs. E. R. Napier	1	0	0	Per Miss Neilans:			
Mrs. L. Maude	1	0	0	Miss Bisdee	0	2	6
Mrs. Sharman	1	0	0	Sweated Workers' Section:			
"Sewing Instead of Reading"	1	0	0	"A Friend"	0	10	0
Finchley Branch	0	15	0	Mrs. E. Temple	1	0	0
Miss M. J. Michael	0	5	0	Banners:			
Miss M. Bois	0	5	0	Mid-London	0	8	6
"S.A."	0	5	0	Swansea Branch	0	8	6
Miss Light	0	5	0	Harrow Branch	0	8	6
Miss Macdonald	0	2	6	Mrs. Mitchell, for			
Mrs. E. Taylor Brown	0	3	0	Finchley Branch	0	8	6
Mrs. E. Archer	0	1	0	Clapham Branch	0	8	6
Miss E. G. Wood	0	1	6	Glasgow Branch	0	8	6
Mrs. Wood	0	2	6	Portsmouth and Gosport Branch	0	8	6
Miss M. Penrose	0	2	6	Chester Branch	0	8	6
Miss H. L. Robinson	0	1	0	Highbury Branch	0	8	6
Miss O. Genge	0	3	6	Collections and Sales:			
				London	16	17	4
				Total	£1,647	1	0

Cheques to be made payable to "The Women's Freedom League" and crossed "London and South Western Bank, Limited."

Would'st thou discern more clearly what besseems?
Ask noble women; they are quick to feel
If aught be done 'gainst seamliness or right.

—Goethe.

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Removes and prevents Rheumatism, Neuritis, Gout, and other Uric Acid Troubles.
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OXFORD STREET.



WOMEN UNDER THE NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

CONTINUED.—II.

(5) AMENDMENT OF CLAUSE 9 (ii.).—This is a "sliding scale" clause, and its effect is to leave it open for the benefits allowed to be very greatly reduced, although the scale of contribution remains unaltered. It provides that "where the rate of sickness or disablement benefit exceeds two-thirds of the usual rate of wages" (or other earnings) the rates of benefit shall be reduced to such an extent as those administering benefit determine, with the consent of the Insurance Commissioners.

The whole of this clause as drawn in the copy of the Bill before me requires improvement. Firstly, it says "the rates of benefit may in any case be reduced by those administering," &c. This gives too much power to the administration, especially when it is kept in mind that these benefits are not a gift, but have been paid for. Who would pay assurance premiums to any society in which the benefits stated were liable to be reduced at the discretion of the management? Also, it might commend itself to any administration to reduce sick pay to individuals in order to accumulate funds which they would be at liberty to apply in various ways as stated in Schedule IV., Part II., for example, No. VI., "The building or leasing of premises for convalescent homes and maintenance of such homes."

Secondly, it is stated that if the benefits of 10s. for men and 7s. 6d. for women exceed two-thirds of their usual wages the benefit shall be reduced, but it is not stated by what amount; that is left to the society or committee administering the benefit to determine. It is being publicly said that the benefit is to be reduced to two-thirds of the usual wage, and this may be the practice and intention, but it is not so stated, and consequently the amount given and the manner of calculating the "usual wage," in order to arrive at the proper amount of benefit, are left to the society or committee, and may, and probably will, vary in different districts and societies.

Thirdly, if it is the intention that sick benefits be reduced to two-thirds of the wage earned, this would not affect men earning 15s., or women earning 11s. 3d. per week and upwards, but all those below those sums would be injuriously affected. This means, of course, that the great majority of those whose benefits will be reduced will be women. Women earn as a whole much smaller wages than men, and as persons under twenty-one are excluded from receiving any sick pay at all, roughly, the whole of those over twenty-one earning below 11s. 3d. per week will be women, and consequently, while the contributions for both sexes over twenty-one whose earnings do not exceed 2s. 6d. per day are the same, the benefits received by women will be very much smaller than those drawn out by men, owing to the fact that two-thirds of the woman's "usual wage" would show, in a very large number of cases, a much lower total than 7s. 6d. a week. For example, a woman earning 8s. a week would pay a contribution of 1d. per week, and on falling ill would be entitled to sick pay of 5s. 4d. per week (two-thirds of 8s.) and not 7s. 6d. This applies also to a man earning the same amount, but, as stated above, men's wages are on the whole higher than women's, and it is women who will be most affected by this sliding scale.

It is of interest to note here that the rate of payment referred to in Schedule II. is "per day." It is nowhere stated in the Bill whether Saturday is to be regarded as a half-day or a whole day for the purpose of calculating the rate per day. This, however, would make a considerable difference to women earning low wages, to whom every penny is of value. Thus, a woman earning 9s. per week would have to pay 1d. per week insurance if the week is considered as six equal days, but if it is to be reckoned as five and a-half days she would have to pay 2d., as her wage would then exceed 1s. 6d. per day. She would be entitled to free medical attendance,

free medicine, and 6s. per week sick pay if laid up (two-thirds of 9s.), commencing from the fourth day after notice had been given.

Further, in seasonal and irregular trades, if the wages are to be averaged over fifty-two weeks for sick benefit, the rate of "usual wage" will be kept very low.

The necessity for inserting this clause at all is not very apparent. To make this or a similar Bill actuarially sound it may be necessary to give a reduced benefit for reduced contributions, but that is otherwise provided for. And, further, it should be clearly done on that basis, and openly stated, and the calculation should be in fair proportion. To take the same contribution and make a smaller return because the recipient is poorer should be impossible. It really looks as if the drafters of this clause felt a little ashamed of it afterwards, for it goes on to say that "where such reduction is made," the society or committee shall "grant one or more additional benefits" of the same value as the reduction. Therefore every woman whose sick benefit pay has been reduced under this two-thirds clause should at once apply for "additional benefit" to be granted her to the same amount as the reduction. It is extremely important that women should understand this. Poor women may like to apply under No. VIII., Part II., Schedule IV., reading "Payments to members who are in want or distress," or under No. I., "Medical treatment and attendance for any persons dependent upon the labour of a member."

This does not apply to members of societies only, as might be thought by the above use of the word "member." It cannot be so, because in Clause 9 (ii.) the words "society or committee administering benefit" cover those administered for by committees (Local Health), under which heading come the deposit contributors, or simply, those people who pay their insurance through the Post Office.

It has been repeatedly stated, although it is not in the Bill, that the schemes for men and women will be kept absolutely distinct financially. It may be remarked that no matter what is said by any minister, only that which is incorporated in the Bill itself when completed will be law; but the above condition is very necessary and the moneys contributed by men and women and paid out to men and women must be kept absolutely separate, not only in the Parliamentary funds, but also in the books of the "approved societies." If this is not done, there is an opening under this clause for still further injustice to women, as follows:—

The nine "additional benefits" appear to apply to either men or women, and unless the funds are kept apart, amounts accumulated by reducing the sick pay of poor women may be applied to increasing benefits either to groups of men and women, or even, if the latter part of No. II. is adopted (and it appears to be left to the discretion of the society or committee as to which of the "additional benefits" they shall select for their spare funds), exclusively to the advantage of members "having children." As the married woman (unless a worker) is excluded, this would mean to the advantage of married men; so that money derived from reducing sick pay to poorer paid women might be devoted to increasing benefits payable to the more highly paid men. This must obviously be safeguarded against.

The Bill provides that all the moneys handled under it are to be paid into a fund called the National Health Insurance Fund, under the control and management of Insurance Commissioners. These commissioners are to be appointed by the Treasury, and themselves appoint their "officers, inspectors, referees, and servants." The accounts are to be audited "in such manner" as the Treasury may direct. I urge as strongly as I can that women be included amongst these commissioners and amongst all "officers, &c.," in sufficient number, and also that women auditors be appointed to safeguard the interests of the women contributors. It is of the highest importance, as will be seen further from following articles.

LEAH ANSON.

CAXTON HALL "AT HOME."

Thursday's "At Home" at Caxton Hall, which was the last of the season, was marked by a touching incident. When Mrs. Despard, who presided, rose to speak, Mrs. How Martyn, on behalf of the Women's Freedom League, presented the President with some exquisite flowers in honour of her birthday. In thanking the League for their beautiful gift, Mrs. Despard said she had a very special love for gardens and flowers. The latter always reminded her that everybody was really a gardener; but that work and love had been divorced by our modern civilisation.

Continuing, Mrs. Despard said women suffragists were out to do a very special thing. They wanted to gain recognition. The vote, which was both a symbol and a key, was a very important step towards the complete emancipation of women. They must get it at once—this Session. The great procession on the 17th would make the Government see that women were in earnest. But they must not fall back. When they reflected that the Government intended the Insurance Bill to pass into law this Session, and that they were also about to introduce a Plural Voting Bill, it was useless to argue that time could not be found for a measure which had already passed its second reading in the House of Commons seven times.

Mrs. Sproson said she had only been a week out of Stafford County Prison, where she had served seven days in the third division for refusing to pay her dog licence. Since then, three other summonses had also been served for the same reason—one upon her husband for "aiding and abetting." This was very serious indeed. If the decision went against Mr. Sproson it would establish the principle that a wife could not keep even a cat without the consent of her husband. Whatever happened the speaker was determined not to let either the police or the Government get the better of her. There were times when militancy was absolutely necessary. Tax resistance was a splendid form of protest when the person who resisted had no goods that could be distrained upon. There was nothing for it but to put that person into prison. This placed the Government in a very awkward position. Public sympathy was always with the person who refused to pay taxes as a matter of principle, and the Government, in sending that person to prison, was regarded as an aggressor. There were those who considered that suffragists were prepared to go too far in their determination to obtain that for which they were fighting. But true reformers were willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of a principle; it was the false reformer who considered that there were limits to sacrifice.

Mrs. Nevinson said when they were at school they were taught that freedom had been won for England by such men as Hampden, who had resisted the payment of ship-money. There was, however, no freedom for women. The Government speeches, which were full of fine phrases about liberty and the will of the people, were pure hypocrisy. A very deplorable thing was that the Press had no courage truthfully to report what was going on—it was merely the tool of the Government. The Colonials who were over here for the Coronation were ashamed of the Mother Country, who delighted to keep its women in political subjection. Under the circumstances the less that was said about freedom and Britons never being slaves the better. New injustices to women were cropping up every day. The Insurance Bill, so far as women were concerned, was a monstrous piece of injustice. In drafting the Bill Mr. Lloyd George had not taken into consultation any representative body of women. But in a recent speech he had had the impertinence to ask for the co-operation of men and women. The speaker was glad to know that the co-operative women were not going to take this fresh attack lying down.

Mrs. Nevinson then dealt with the position of married women under the Poor Law, which, she said, was so abominably unfair as to suggest that it was a crime for a woman to marry.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

Now that the Women's Great Procession is over we must work harder than ever to get "Votes for Women" discussed by every man and woman in the British Isles. All who are making arrangements for holidays and would be willing to sell THE VOTE or our literature, to support speakers, or hold meetings, are asked to at once communicate with headquarters, so that we can put them in touch with kindred spirits, and carry on an enthusiastic summer campaign. Our green, white and gold procession bills have found their way on to the walls of shops in Welsh villages; we want THE VOTE on sale in every town and village in England, Scotland, and Wales. Who will help to make this possible?

Outdoor Meetings.—Miss Turner is in charge of all outdoor meetings in London, and wishes to hear at once from all our speakers and from those willing to support them. This open-air work is the very best means of propaganda, and every effort must be used to prevent the crowds from losing their impressions of our work last Saturday.

"Gardenia" Meetings.—The meeting on June 28 will be of special interest. Mrs. Pember Reeves has kindly promised to open a discussion on "The State Insurance Bill." The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by Mrs. How Martyn. July 5 Mrs. How Martyn will speak on "The Economic Status of Married Women"; July 12, Mrs. Despard will deal with "Clinics and Open-Air Schools," and July 26 Mrs. Drysdale will discuss "Emancipation and Motherhood." These discussion meetings (which are an excellent training-ground for new speakers) have been changed from Friday to Wednesday evenings at the request of some of our members.

Autumn Work.—Lectures have been promised by Mrs. Despard on "Josephine Butler" and by Mrs. Holmes on "Florence Nightingale" in the early autumn in London, and we hope our many friends in Bournemouth will not forget to well advertise Mrs. Despard's lecture on "Prometheus Unbound" at St. Peter's Hall, September 25. Miss Sidley, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Hume, will spend a fortnight in Bournemouth previous to this lecture working up the district, so that we hope to have a flourishing branch there before the winter work begins.

Tickets for Kensington Town Hall Meeting.—Will all who have not paid in their account for these kindly do so at once?
F. A. UNDERWOOD.

RECEPTION AT CAXTON HALL.

Walking does not tire the enthusiasm of members of the Women's Freedom League. At any rate that was the impression of the guests at Caxton Hall last Sunday afternoon, when Mrs. Despard received the Scotch, Welsh, and provincial delegates on behalf of the National Executive Committee. After tea had been served, Mrs. Despard made a charming address of welcome, and Miss Jack thanked the Executive Committee for providing this opportunity for Northerners and Southerners to meet each other. Londoners owe Scotland a debt of gratitude for sending Miss Jack, and hope to have many more chances of hearing her speak in this city.
F. A. U.

... work out your freedom. Girls,
Knowledge is now no more a fountain sealed;
Drink deep, until the habits of the slave,
The sins of emptiness, gossip, and spite
And slander, die. Better not be at all
Than not be noble.

—Tennyson.

A most interesting Exhibition of Alstona Paintings which have received prizes in connection with the recent International Competition is now proceeding at the Alston Gallery, 310, Regent-street, W. It may be mentioned that Alstona painting is a hobby which anyone can take up without knowledge of drawing, sketching or painting; and as the Beginners' Section of this exhibition demonstrates, beautiful results can be obtained from the very first. The exhibition, which will remain open until the end of June, should certainly be visited by all interested in painting.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.



LONDON.

Wed., June 21.—Branch meeting, 4, Clarence-road, Hackney, 8 p.m.

Thurs., June 22.—Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m.

Sun., June 25.—Hyde Park, 12 noon. Mrs. Nevinson. *Chair*: Miss Tite.

Mon., June 26.—8 p.m., Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace. Mr. R. Pott, Miss Fennings.

Wed., June 28.—'Gardenia' meeting, 8 p.m. Discussion on the State Insurance Bill. Mrs. Pember Reeves.

DARE TO BE FREE.
Sale and garden-party, at 170, Peckham-rye, to be opened by Mrs. Despard, 3 to 9 p.m. Admission free.

Thurs., June 29.—Sale and garden-party at 170, Peckham-rye, to be opened by Miss F. A. Underwood, 3 to 9 p.m. Admission free.

Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m.

Sun., July 2.—Hyde Park, 12 noon.

Wed., July 5.—'Gardenia' meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martin. "The Economic Status of Married Women."

Wed., July 12.—'Gardenia' meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard. "Clinics and Open-Air Schools."

Wed., July 26.—'Gardenia' meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Drysdale. "Emancipation and Motherhood."

SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH.

Sat., June 24.—Garden Party (Mrs. Gillspie's), 11, Salisbury-road, 3 p.m. Tickets, 1s. each.

PROVINCES.

Thurs., June 22.—From 10 a.m., decorated Suffrage boat on the River Dee, Chester. *VOTE* selling all day.

BRANCH NOTES.

NATIONAL OFFICES, LONDON.—1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—*Hon. Secretary*: Miss B. SPENCER, 32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W.

On Tuesday, June 13, a very successful drawing-room meeting was held, by kind invitation of Miss Davies, at 161, Croxted-road. The speakers were Mrs. B. H. Jones and Miss Alison Neilans. Some literature was sold, a good collection taken, and a new member joined our branch. Members who are making and collecting articles for the sale and garden party to be held on June 28 and 29 are requested to send them, with the price marked and carriage paid, to Miss Lucy Jenks, 170, Peckham-rye, as soon as possible. Mrs. Despard will open the sale on Wednesday afternoon, and Miss Underwood on Thursday, at 3 p.m. We hope all members will attend and bring friends on one or both days. Admission will be free.

Highbury.—*Hon. Secretary*: MISS JEAN ARKLEY, 65, Marquess-road, Canonbury.

Two very successful open-air meetings have been held by this branch during the week, Miss Fennings and Mrs. Tanner being the speakers. The crowds showed enthusiasm about the procession, and asked many questions. At each meeting *THE VOTE* sold well, and a good collection was taken.

Hampstead.—*Hon. Secretary*: MRS. SPILLER.

A very successful meeting was held on the Heath on the 13th inst. Mrs. Hyde, who was in the chair, spoke of the prolonged struggle of the women to obtain the "liberty that begets liberties," and referred to the significance of the coming procession. Miss Sidley for over an hour spoke with great clearness of the Conciliation Bill, and explained the clauses of the Insurance Bill as they affected the unrepresented women of the country. Questions were asked, a fair collection taken, and some *VOTES* sold.

Brighton and Hove.—*Hon. Secretaries*: MRS. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham-place, Brighton; MISS HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

A very interesting meeting was held at Miss Hare's house on Wednesday, when the subject of the White Slave Traffic was discussed. Mrs. Francis presided, and Mrs. Lovibond and Miss Hare opened the discussion, in which many members joined. These meetings have been so successful that they will be continued after Coronation week. Further particulars will be given later. A good contingent of Brighton and Hove members went up for the procession.

Anerley and Crystal Palace.—*Hon. Secretary*: Miss J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

The usual meeting will be held next Monday at the tram terminus, when Mr. R. Pott will speak.

WALES AND MONMOUTH.—*Hon. Organiser*: MRS. CLEEVE, "Chez Nous," Sketty, Glamorgan.

Swansea.—*Hon. Organising Secretary*: MISS H. DAVIES, B.A., Training College. *Hon. Corresponding Secretary*: MISS PHIPPS, B.A., 5, Grosvenor-road, Sketty.

At the usual branch meeting, on June 14, Dr. Arbour Stephens gave an instructive paper on the "Baby's Welcome," in High-

street, Swansea, where mothers are taught how to feed and dress their babies. This was followed by an interesting discussion.

Members are earnestly requested to attend the next meeting, on June 28, at Dynevor-place, both to welcome the representatives of the Women's Labour League and to take part in the debate announced last week.

CORRESPONDENCE.

**** Letters intended for publication must be written on one side of the paper only, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer. It must be clearly understood that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions expressed.**

To the Editor of *THE VOTE*.

DEAR MADAM,—I, too, would like to emphasize the importance of wearing a Votes for Women badge. I never go out without one. I find it most helpful for propaganda purposes. It has caused many a debate, and I know, in some cases, with good result. It is also useful to the wearer educationally, as all sorts of questions are asked, and one has to read up the subject of woman suffrage to be able to reply. It is not unusual for a stranger—often a man—to stop me in the street and ask me to explain some knotty point relating to woman suffrage.—Yours faithfully,

THE WIFE OF A WORKING MAN.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Our two new pamphlets, "This Monstrous Regiment of Women," by Ford Madox Hueffer, price 6d., an excellent review of which appeared in the Procession number of *THE VOTE*, and "Colonial Statesmen and Votes for Women: Lord Curzon Answered," price 1d., should be purchased by everyone.

The latter demonstrates that although Australia and New Zealand have enfranchised their women, they have both remained healthy Colonies; indeed, have progressed enormously since they took that step. This contention is supported by the testimony of Statesmen who have seen woman suffrage in the working, by official statistics, and by the legislation that has been introduced. In fact, Lord Curzon's fifteen "incontrovertible and valid reasons against woman's suffrage" are incontrovertibly refuted, or in homely parlance, we are reminded that the proof of the pudding is in the eating!

EILEEN MITCHELL.

'SAME AS LAST GOALS' Thus writes an Editor to W. Clarke and Son.

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