

THE VOTE

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

VOL. III. No. 73.

SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 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.

Offices: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

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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.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

United Kingdom ... 6/6 per annum, post free.

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"THE VOTE" may be obtained through all Newsagents and at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son.

OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Change of Address.

Will readers kindly note that the Editorial and Advertising Departments are now removed to 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.?

On Promotion?

It has long been more than a suspicion with the majority of thinking women that the many specious fallacies written down against the sex would better fit the accusers than the accused. Among the desirable qualities which are supposed to be inherent in the nature of man and diametrically opposed to the nature of woman are business acumen and power of leadership. These suppositions do not, of course, stand the test of the most ordinary experience, and in the course of the day's work they are frequently disproved. Far be it from us to assert that any woman could at a moment's notice, and without previous training, undertake and successfully manage the duties of a business concern; but we do maintain that any woman of average capacity and with half the political experience of Mr. Churchill would have acquitted herself with considerably more dignity and practical ability than did the Right Honourable gentleman when the other night he failed so signally to seize the chance of a lifetime. Poor Mr. Churchill! even a militant suffragist (who after all is but a woman) is moved to pity by the spectacle presented of a proverbially ambitious young man floundering distractedly in a sea of disorder when by the laws of nature and the wishes of Winston he should have been successfully steering the ship of state, and thereby proving himself a brilliant deputy and eligible candidate for a future Premiership. If we are to judge from the picturesque accounts given in the daily Press the confusion which obtained at Westminster from three in the afternoon of Thursday till ten the following morning amounted almost to a m \acute{e} l \acute{e} . And the promoters of, and participants in, this absurd

and futile behaviour were neither Suffragettes nor unruly schoolboys, but the responsible representatives of the electorate; many of whom have frequently and pitifully exhorted women to cease their demand for citizenship lest the god of disruption should descend upon the country and the machinery of government come to a standstill!

The "Seal of Approval."

In the course of a speech made by Mr. Haldane on Saturday to acknowledge the honour conferred upon him by his admittance as an Honorary Burgess of the Ancient Royal Burgh of Haddington, the Secretary for War is reported to have said:—

There is a sense which is deeply inherent in our people that whenever anyone has worked long enough and hard enough in public affairs, they desire to set the seal of their approval upon the act.

If this be true—and we have no reason to doubt the fact—how is it that the Cabinet, of which Mr. Haldane is a distinguished member, continue to act in defiance of the expressed will of the people—as evidenced at elections, by petitions, and in a variety of ways—by refusing to set the "seal of approval," *i.e.*, the franchise, upon the work of the women of the country? As not even the most intractable "Anti" refuses to admit the worth and importance of women's work to the nation, it is difficult to understand how a man of Mr. Haldane's intellect can reconcile his professed opinions with his own refusal to give effect to his beliefs. Continuing, the member for Haddington paid tribute to the House of Commons, and to the sentiment in the House which "sought to do justice to the fact of effort made in the public interest." Fie, Mr. Haldane! Although not present at the gathering wherein the above remark was made and therefore unable to observe the facial expression and exact tone of voice which accompanied the utterance, we cannot but believe that the remark was made with the tongue in the cheek. With the memory of the soporific debate on the Parliament Bill—supposed to be very much in the "public interest!" still fresh in our minds, how could it be otherwise?

Lord Cromer's Resolution.

At a public meeting held some time ago in Manchester Lord Cromer charged the women workers of the country with being directly responsible for the high rate of infant mortality at present prevailing in Great Britain. In consequence of this statement there ensued a correspondence—afterwards published in the daily Press—between his lordship and Lady Chance, in which the well-known suffragist distinctly refuted Lord Cromer's accusation and proved conclusively that in the majority of cases infant mortality is due to the exclusion of the woman's point of view from the legislature. And now we hear that Lord Cromer "cannot as a rule undertake to reply to those who address him on subjects to which he has made public allusion." The reason for his lordship's resolution must be so obvious to the open-minded that further comment is unnecessary!

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TO MY READERS.

Dear Fellow-Members and Readers of THE VOTE—
 You have heard that I have taken up the responsible Editorship of THE VOTE. With the assistance of my friend and colleague, Mrs. Thomson-Price, and of Miss McGowan—a young journalist and an enthusiastic Suffragist, whose career I have been watching for some time with deep interest—I hope to be able shortly to make our organ stronger, fuller, a greater power for the League and for our Cause. Not for a moment would I depreciate the fine work of those who have preceded us in the Editorial staff and in the business management. Without them, I know THE VOTE would not have started on its adventurous voyage, and they have weathered the opening difficulties. With you I accord to them all gratitude. But I feel the time has come when, by vigorous effort, we must all do more than we have done with our paper. One of my reasons for taking up the Editorship is that it may be felt to be closely in touch with us as a League. Our organ, representing our ideas, sent forth into the world as our messenger, and therefore dear to us: this is what we must make for, and this is our first aspiration. We desire to fill it with matter that must necessarily interest those who are working for woman's freedom.

We desire, moreover, to be catholic in our outlook. Therefore we will record with pleasure and due meed of admiration the work done by women in other societies. We desire to draw in as readers and subscribers, through the general attractiveness of our paper, those who have not yet joined the woman's movement. Thus, while due space will be given to League activities and current politics as they affect women, literature, art, the drama, woman's work in various directions, and, I hope, fiction, by-and-by, will form a part of the programme we are arranging. It will be obvious to our readers that if this is to be done: if, in short, THE VOTE is to be truly representative of the League, they must all put their shoulder to the wheel.

We want more pages. If, in six months' time, you double the circulation—and this I not only hope for, I expect—we shall be able to do it.

So I ask you to stand by us. Work unstinting, enthusiasm, devotion we are ready to throw into the scale. We have promises of help from many known writers. It would be hard indeed if our own fellow-members were to be backward.

But I know it will not be so, and I look forward with courage and with good hope to a fine future for THE VOTE.—I remain, yours sincerely,

C. DESPARD.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

In order to avoid confusion all "copy" and letters in connection with THE VOTE should be addressed to the EDITOR, and not to Mrs. Despard personally.

Contributors are requested to send in Branch Notes, reports, &c., as early as possible. News received later than the first post on Monday cannot be inserted.

All communications should be written legibly in ink, and on one side of the paper only.

It will greatly facilitate the editorial work if NEW SECRETARIES will please observe the manner in which BRANCH NOTES are set up, and draft their matter accordingly.

C. DESPARD.

CAXTON HALL "AT HOME."

Owing to the great demand upon our space we are obliged to hold over till next week the account of Caxton Hall "At Home," also our Shopping Guide.—[Ed.]

PRIZE COMPETITION.—A mistake was made in our announcement concerning the result of the prize competition for the best suggestions for increasing the sales of THE VOTE. The correct address of Mrs. Pedley, winner of the first prize, is 18, Bower-street, Hanley.

OUR TREASURY.

Having decided to visit the various branches of the League in order to come in touch personally with the secretaries and treasurers, I started my tour in Wales last week and met the Swansea and Cardiff Branches. The officers of the Barry Branch came to see me in Cardiff. Owing to the short notice and the little time at my disposal, I was unable to visit Caldicot and Aberdare, but hope to have an opportunity again soon, as I returned very pleased indeed with the reception given me by the other branches. We discussed the financial prospects of the League thoroughly and made plans for the future. Barry held a most successful meeting a short time ago, and the secretaries are now thinking of a scheme for raising money to pay for an organiser. Cardiff is also making plans for setting the branch on a sound financial basis. In Swansea we had quite a good meeting, and I was promised subscriptions for the Office Fund by Mrs. Soars, Miss Leyson, Mrs. Holland, and the Misses Kirkland. Mrs. Cleaves, Miss Munro and I also had a most successful Census meeting at Newport, and in Cardiff, besides the special branch meeting, we had a very good drawing-room meeting, and an open-air meeting at the docks.

I have now arranged meetings with the Wellingborough, Stamford Hill, Mid-London, Willesden, and Clapham Branches, and hope to make acquaintance with all the branches of the Freedom League within the next two or three months.

CONSTANCE TITE.

NATIONAL FUND.

Branch and District Funds Not Included.

Amount previously collected, October, 1907 to December, 1910	£	s.	d.	Per Miss Jenkins	£	s.	d.
11,595	3	2		0	5	0	
Amount previously acknowledged	609	15	2	Per Miss Manning	0	2	0
Mrs. Despard	10	0	0	Miss Jackson	0	2	0
Miss C. Tito	10	0	0	For Census Protest:			
Miss C. Tito (Collected)	2	0	0	"J. M. A."	50	0	0
Mrs. Sadd Brown	5	0	0	Mrs. Tudor	1	1	0
Miss E. Harvey	1	0	0	Mrs. Fairfax Craig	5	0	0
Miss E. Phipps	1	1	0	Mrs. Wall Cousins	1	1	0
Caldicot Branch	2	0	0	Mrs. L. Sidley	0	10	0
Miss E. Murray (Traveling Expenses Refunded)	2	5	0	Miss H. Normanton	0	4	0
Mrs. How Martyn do.	1	5	10	Mrs. Mustard	0	2	6
Miss M. Petty	0	10	0	Per Mrs. How Martyn:			
Miss A. Husband	0	10	0	R. H. Pott, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss M. I. Saunders	0	10	0	Mrs. Merryweather	0	10	0
Mrs. F. Harrison	0	1	0	Mrs. Terry	0	2	6
Miss D. Taylor	0	1	0	Miss M. Harrison	0	2	6
Miss Jennings	0	1	0	Miss G. Holmes	0	2	6
Miss H. Normanton	0	1	0	Dr. J. Murray	0	1	0
Miss Freeman	0	1	0	Mrs. D. Harrison	0	10	0
Miss C. E. Andrews	0	2	0	Miss J. Turner	0	1	0
Mrs. H. Wyse	0	2	6	Mrs. Knowles	1	4	0
Miss M. O'Neill	0	1	0	Miss Hickman	0	1	0
Mrs. L. M. Radford	0	1	0	Miss Eley	0	1	0
Mrs. Thomson Price	0	2	6	Miss A. Farmer	0	2	6
Mdlle. Henry	0	2	6	Miss A. Evans	0	5	0
Miss I. T. Hogg	0	2	6	Miss E. Montgomery	0	2	6
Mrs. Dixon	0	1	0	Miss Lucie James	0	5	0
Mrs. A. Davies	0	1	0	Miss E. M. Richardson	0	5	0
Mrs. Snowball	0	2	6	Miss Birnstingl	0	2	6
Mrs. Kubler	0	2	0	Mrs. Bremner	0	2	6
Miss Bosley	0	1	0	Miss Gill	0	5	0
Mrs. A. J. Lane	0	2	6	Miss Great Rex	0	1	0
Mrs. Taylor Brown	0	1	0	Mrs. Syms	0	2	0
Miss G. Great Rex	0	1	0	Mrs. Carey	0	2	0
Miss E. Coning	0	2	6	Miss D. O. Turton	0	1	0
Miss I. Longwill	0	1	0	Lecture Fee	2	2	0
Wellingborough Branch (Capitation Fee)	0	13	0	West Hampstead Branch	0	2	5
Do. (Profit on Meeting)	0	15	0	Census Leaflets Sold	1	2	0
Miss M. Sidley (Lecture Fee)	0	5	0	Per Miss A. Neilans:			
Per Miss Vincent:				Clapham Branch	0	2	6
C. T. O.	0	1	2	Dundee Branch	0	12	6
Per Miss Burr:				Mrs. Forrester	0	2	0
Miss I. Jones	0	1	0	Per Mrs. Despard:			
Per Miss Turner (Battersea):				Census Meeting,			
Proceeds Jumble Sale	6	15	0	Herne-hill Branch	0	10	0
Mrs. Thomas	0	2	0	Collections and Sales:			
Mrs. Sutcliffe	0	2	6	London	12	3	3
Per Miss Neilans:				Proceeds Whist Drive	5	19	0
Miss Jefferson	0	1	6	Total	£748	3	10
Mrs. Cameron	0	2	6				
Per Miss Buntent:							
Mrs. Zangwill	1	1	0				

CORRECTION.—The item, "Miss Manning, 8s. 9d.," which appeared in the last list, should have read: Per Miss Manning: Sale Branch, 8s. 9d.

ONE WORD MORE.

"News from No-Man's Land" has merely stated a case, which may or may not be a close parallel to what is soon to happen in our own country. The Census is about to be taken, and thousands of our women will refuse to make that definite act of consent to unrepresentative Government which the filling-up of the Census form involves. To bring about that great moral protest, women have organised and combined and called on others to aid. They have done it openly, defiantly, without concealment, their declared object being to make difficult and to bring into disrepute the claims of an unrepresentative Government on the active co-operation of those to whom it refuses the fundamental rights of citizenship.

What is the Government going to do? Is it going to take this aspersion of its authority lying down, or is it going to prosecute for "conspiracy" those who have set themselves to demonstrate that representative government depends for its effective working on the consent of the governed?

Whatever the Government does it stands to lose; on two sides it is faced by moral defeat. Its only chance of coming, with honour, out of its present position is to hoist the flag of truce and to promise full facilities this Session for the Conciliation Bill. Then, immediately, all resistance to the Census will be over; the consent of the governed will be won.

Two-sided defeat remains. If, in the face of this open declaration of resistance, the Government does nothing, it loses prestige; for it shows that it is afraid to act—that it prefers to keep a bad case out of court, and as much concealed as possible from the public eye. If it prosecutes the thousands of individual resisters throughout the country, it will present its bad case with a fuller publicity than the Press-boycott has ever permitted its presentation by the women themselves; it will occupy a great deal of valuable time in the police courts, a great deal of valuable space in its prisons, and it will gain nothing whatever in reparation of its damaged Census. Or if, as an alternative, it prosecutes only the ringleaders for conspiracy, then it attacks us as we most wish to be attacked. For then we can bring into court and call as witness for the defence that history of Constitutional struggle of which all Englishmen are proud, and we can bring also the record and the words of leading members of the present Government to show how differently they have regarded the organised resistance of men on whose votes they depend for power, and of those who have no votes by which to turn them from power.

Take, for instance, the sympathy and encouragement given by Liberal leaders in the past to the Passive Resisters of the Education Rate. They were praised, supported, fed with promises, by men now high in office; and neither Dr. Clifford nor any of his following have been prosecuted for "conspiracy" against the law. It may be said that their resistance was only "passive"; so in strict form is the women's Census resistance—it consists in a refusal to put hand to paper in aid of an unrepresentative Government. It says to that Government, "Collect your information in your own way, but don't expect aid or consent from us," just as the Passive Resister said, "Collect your Education Rate in your own way, but don't expect aid or consent from me." The two cases are absolutely on a par.

But we have instances of Cabinet Ministers approving and encouraging far more active courses of resistance to authority than these. Only last year Mr. Lloyd George held up to admiration the past action of those Welshmen who, disguised as women in order to avoid recognition and capture, broke down toll-gates and barriers which were permitted by law. Mr. John Burns secured his early popularity and importance by resistance to authority in Trafalgar-square. Mr. Winston Churchill made it a condition that the Welsh miners must cease rioting before their representatives

could be received at the Home Office, but when they went on rioting their representatives were received none the less. Mr. Asquith told a waiting deputation of the unemployed in Parliament-square that he could not receive them; but when they said that they would wait until he could, he did not keep them waiting for 219,000 hours, day and night, nor did he set the police upon these potential voters to drive them out of the Square where they were breaking the law just as much as the Suffragist deputations are accused of breaking it. No, Mr. Asquith altered his arrangements and received them! Yet we are told to-day that the Government cannot with self-respect alter its arrangements and receive the women's deputations, or promise facilities for the Conciliation Bill in the face of the women's tendency to revolt. It has done these things in the face of men's tendency to revolt; it has done them because their tendency to revolt increases if justice is persistently denied. And to-day women, with a far more fundamental political grievance than any of these men, are out to prove that in fighting for their political liberties they are not unlike those who, by resistance to wrongly based authority, won for us men the rights which we enjoy to-day.

Is the Government going to treat the women who are in Constitutional revolt to-day as Governments in the past have treated voteless men, earning thereby the condemnation of history; or will they treat them—as they treat to-day any large bodies of disaffected men who possess the vote—with consideration, with attention and with an earnest desire to redress their grievances? With whatever degree of severity they act, whatever operations of law they put in force, nothing but recognition of women's claim to political freedom will ever diminish their tendency to revolt.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Play Department of this League gave a performance at the Rehearsal Theatre of two new one-act plays, entitled *Her Wild Oats*, by Harold Rubenstein, and *Restitution*, by John Kidd. Between the plays an amusing monologue by H. M. Paul called "An Anti-Suffragist, or The Other Side," was very cleverly recited by Miss Margaret Bussé. The object of these productions, we are told, is to try the new Suffrage plays for the purpose of using them as propaganda. In our opinion, all the plays which have been written with the idea of converting the waverer or the apathetic are not in the least likely to do so, and Mr. Rubenstein's *Wild Oats* is no exception. One can conceive that Miss Hamilton's *Just to Get Married* might make Suffragists by the score, though not written with that intention; but if the purpose is too clear it almost always fails of achievement. *Restitution* does not suffer from a moral writ too large, but neither does it seem to have anything to do with Suffrage as less advanced. It is merely a piece of sickly sentimentality in which the author makes a wife, who has been abominably treated by a selfish husband, behave like a helpless fly caught in a spider's web. To the mind of the Suffragist such sacrifice appears what it really is, a useless and wicked act on the part of the person making it; and what is intended to pass as heroic unselfishness is merely the selfishness of a weak and cowardly character.

We may just add that the acting and all the other arrangements were excellently carried out. E. H. M.

Two Good Lines for Ladies' Wear.
 ALL BRITISH and ALL LEATHER.
 "The LOTUS" "The COMBINED"
 Boots Shoes Boots Shoes
 17/9 13/9 8/11 6/11
 117 SIZES, SHAPES, AND FITTINGS.
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TAX AND CENSUS RESISTANCE.

An Unusual Procedure.

The hon. treasurer of our Brighton branch (Mrs. Jones-Williams) is the first person in Brighton to refuse to pay taxes as a protest against the unfranchised condition of women. The local authorities, apparently not knowing the usual procedure, took the unusual course of sending a bailiff to take possession. Thanks to the activity of some members of the men's league, the authorities consented to the man being in "walking possession."

Once before this course has been taken, when a bailiff was put in possession at Mrs. Rose Hyland's in Manchester. Not even this unnecessary piece of annoyance will make us pause in our efforts to refuse our consent to taxation without representation.

Sale on March 20.

We congratulate the Brighton branch and Mrs. Jones-Williams on the firm stand they have made in the matter, and urge all Suffragists in the town to rally to the protest meeting on Monday next. Mrs. How-Martyn will be one of the speakers.

Another Passive Resister.

and a member of the N.E.C., Mrs. Francis, the hon. secretary of the branch, writes:—"With this ring I thee wed—that's sorcery; with my body I thee worship—that's idolatry; and with my worldly goods I thee endow—that's a lie," says old Sir J. Bowring.

"Wishing to test the validity or otherwise of the vow which, according to the forms of the Established Church, my husband made at the altar at the time of our marriage, and also with an ever-increasing sense that tax-resistance is not only morally justifiable, but morally imperative, I have refused consent, as joint controller of our mutual finances, to the payment of my half of the year's taxes. My husband has therefore retained this amount while paying his own share, and explaining the reasons for taking this action. An entreating letter has followed from the tax-collector, but the threat of distraint has not yet been received.

"We hope that if and when these protests have to be pushed to extremity our friends will do their utmost to help to make them widely known and effective."

Census Resistance.

Very many more promises of support have been received this week. Mr. Laurence Housman's speech at Caxton Hall met with enthusiastic appreciation and applause, and as a consequence of the meetings he is addressing on the Census boycott during this month thousands will be added to the ranks of the resisters.

During this last fortnight every effort must be made to win fresh recruits, to hold meetings in new places, and to canvass personally wherever one happens to be. Every member can help in these and many other ways.

Further Questions.

Two ladies who will be in St. Helen's, Lancashire, want to know if any Suffragist is opening her house to resisters.

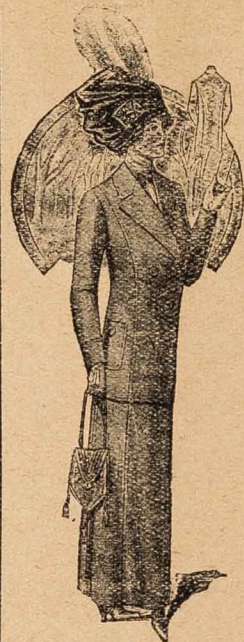
A local registrar has told a resister that she will be fined for each person who is supposed to be in the house. Is this true?

A barrister has written to me saying, "I do not agree at all with the local registrars' view of the law. First, because people are not convicted on suspicion; and secondly, I do not think the number of offences depends upon the number of persons in the house. However, the subject is rather difficult, and in the absence of any decision I can only express my own opinion.

"If an occupier wilfully refuse to make a return at all it seems to me that that would be one offence, because it would be one act. A possible view, however, is that it could be charged as a series of offences for refusing to answer questions necessary for obtaining the information required. In my opinion, however, this view would not be adopted, and would be putting a very oppressive construction on the Act."

EDITH HOW-MARTYN.

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RESTAURANT
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WILLIAM
OWEN

WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

The supply of helpers is still unequal to the work demanded. Every effort now is directed towards filling Trafalgar-square for the Census mass-meeting, Saturday afternoon, April 1, and any suggestions and assistance to that end will be gladly welcomed at this office.

Caravan.

Through the prompt generosity of the London Branches Council, Mrs. Despard's caravan is to be brought from the country during this week to help to popularise our cause in different parts of London. Mrs. Tanner has kindly arranged to have charge of it most of the time, but for the week previous to our Hackney Town Hall Census meeting it will be in the North London district. Its itinerary will be published in THE VOTE, and all members and sympathisers are urged to try to make it self-supporting.

"At Homes."

Caxton Hall was crowded last Thursday afternoon. Will members and friends try to make our present week's "At Home" equally successful? Lady Stout's lecture on "Women's Suffrage in New Zealand" will be of special interest. It is even hoped that our friends the Anti-Suffragists will come in large numbers. In addition, Mrs. Despard will speak on Census Protest Week, and it is hoped, will disclose various money-raising schemes by which our funds will be replenished. Sunday, the 26th, is reserved for a special afternoon "At Home," to which all members are cordially invited, to meet the members of the N.E.C., and this will be an excellent opportunity for getting first-hand information of the work of our League outside London.

Poster Parades.

Volunteers are badly needed to take part in the daily poster parades arranged for the fortnight preceding our Trafalgar-square mass-meeting. Particulars of the districts in which parades will take place can be obtained from the office.

Meetings.

Our "Forthcoming Events" show that members are very active both in the provinces and in London. The attention of London members is particularly directed to the meetings to be held at Hackney, Finchley, Acton, Clapham, Battersea, Harrow, Willesden, and Anerley, and they will greatly assist the workers in these districts, and through them the whole work of the League, if they will make every possible effort to insure the success of these meetings. Nothing encourages headquarters more than the report of a successful meeting.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

HARD-UP SOCIAL.

This will take place Saturday, March 25, at Holborn Hall (off Gray's-inn-road), at 6.30 p.m. Tickets, 1s. each, are on sale at the office, and can be obtained from all London branch secretaries. Will members please do their utmost to persuade every friend and acquaintance they have to share the fun? The programme is a remarkably good one, and several first-class professionals are lending their services. There will be a concert, a palmist, a Suffrage play, an account of "How the Vote was Lost," a Suffragists' meeting, with inter-

ruptions, an excellent supper (which guests themselves will provide), dancing, and a jumble sale. As we are genuinely "hard-up," we should be very grateful for the loan of screens, curtains, crockery, and for gifts of provisions. Our chief business is, of course, to sell tickets, and every effort exerted towards this end will earn the sincere gratitude of the hard-up hostesses.

F. A. U.

SPECIAL MESSAGES TO OUR READERS.

From Miss Ethel Fenning (VOTE Sales Organiser):—Encouraging and stimulating accounts reach us of new readers gained for THE VOTE which should spur others on. A sympathiser from Sittingbourne writes that through canvassing she has induced six people to take the paper in for a few weeks to see how they like it. From Lowestoft a member tells us that she displays a poster every week, also a copy of THE VOTE in her window, and sells a large number. In Tottenham I secured eight regular subscribers from a day's canvassing, and two or three other people promised to consider it. One member has promised to show a poster outside her house every day. Miss Woodall, of Chester, is doing splendidly, and I hope other members will send in accounts of their work as soon as possible. Volunteers are urgently needed to keep our London pitches going, and any who have an hour to spare between 11 a.m. and 8 p.m. are asked to call at 1, Robert-street.

From Mrs. Eileen Mitchell (Literature Department, Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi):—There will be a new cartoon postcard on the Census Protest on sale in this department at the end of the week, price 1d. each, which is very cheap for a postcard of the kind. As there is very little time before Census day, will branches please regard this as the only intimation of the postcard, and write up for it without waiting for further reminder? If possible, we will try to publish it in next week's VOTE, as we feel such excellent cartoons for Mr. Asquith and

Mr. Burns need the widest circulation.

TAX RESISTERS' PROTEST.

Notwithstanding the mud and odoriferous atmosphere of the back streets off Drury-lane, quite a large number of members of the Tax Resisters' League, the Women's Freedom League, and the Women's Social and Political Union, met outside Bulloch's Sale Rooms shortly after 10 o'clock last Saturday morning to protest against the sale of Miss Bertha Brewster's goods, which had been seized because of her refusal to pay her Imperial taxes. Before the sale took place, Mrs. Gatty, as chairman, explained to at least a hundred people the reasons of Miss Brewster's refusal to pay her taxes and the importance of the constitutional principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, which this refusal stood for. Miss Leonora Tyson proposed the resolution protesting against the injustice of this sale, and it was seconded by Miss F. A. Underwood, and supported by Miss Brackenbury. The resolution was carried with only two dissentients, and these dissentients were women!



THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
 Secretary—Miss L. M. THOMPSON.
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SATURDAY, MARCH 18, 1911.

MAPPED OUT.

We are told by those who profess to be well-informed that the Government programme for this year and next is mapped out. The Parliament Bill, of course, Home Rule, Finance, Welsh Disestablishment, perhaps a Scottish Land Bill, given which, "there is no reason for anticipating impatience in any section of the Progressive forces." How delightful it all sounds! Listening to our smooth-lipped male politicians, we might imagine that the rod of the dominating House being broken for ever, all will go happily; the lion and the lamb will lie down together in peace; the people, their will having prevailed, will patiently await the full fruition of their hopes. At the next General Election, whenever it comes round, they will vote wildly for the Liberal party, and nothing will disturb the pleasant harmony.

Yes, it sounds delightful; but we women, alas! have not the serene patience of men-electors. Moreover, we are analytical. Fine phrases do not always lull us to rest. We have a sad trick of pulling them to pieces and trying to get at their meaning. This, no doubt, is partly the result of our lack of training in party politics.

For instance, we are told that the programme sketched out will be satisfying. No section of the Progressive forces will have any reason for impatience. We ask immediately: Whom do these easily-satisfied Progressive forces represent, and what do they include? Some of us, in our innocence, had imagined that we women—mothers, workers, thinkers—formed a part of the force that makes for progress. Apparently we have been mistaken. Welshmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, British male labour, have their long-felt grievances, and, seeing that the Liberal Government lives by their favour, these grievances must be redressed as soon as ever the obstructive force is removed. Women may have their grievances; they may have more; they may have opinions of their own as to what progress means; but, being on'y women and not citizens, mapped-out party programmes leave them on the wrong side. "Mapped out for the men—wiped out for the women" is once again the word of those who are adjuring us, by all that is sacred, to keep quiet and trust them.

Let us take one of these items in detail. The wrongs of Ireland are to be dealt with. It is high time that this should be done. Whether such a Government as that which now holds rule in Great Britain is capable of dealing largely and fairly with so great a question I will not pretend to say, though, indeed, fear of defeat may quicken their senses. I hope that, whatever happens, the women of Ireland will keep their eyes open.

With regard to what has happened in the past, I quote from Mrs. Cope, one of our members, herself an Irishwoman, who spoke lately for the League at Chandos Hall: "When the Trade Boards Bill was passed, the women in the North of Ireland begged the Government to place the Irish linen industry on the same footing as other sweated industries; the Government would not, because 'there was no sweating in Ireland.'" Our colleague then went on to show that for certain classes of linen embroidery women could only earn 2s. 6d. a week. What happens to these women and girls? Will any of our Government dare to attempt an answer to that question? No, fellow-women, we must take it on trust that there is no sweating in Ireland; we must shut our eyes in true womanly fashion and go about that which we are told by men is our business.

I ask what will happen to these women and girls? I ask a deeper question: What will happen, by and-by,

to the race which is poisoning life at its very springs? Thousands of the Irish, both men and women, have sought social salvation on the other side of the ocean; and those who remain—the Irish nation of to-day—are not physically what they were. I take comfort, however, from the fact that over Ireland, more notably, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world, a great wind of spiritual force is moving. Let the Irishwoman be touched with that and she will be about her own womanly work, the redemption and remoulding of her nation. "These are the things," says Mrs. Cope, "that give religious fervour to the Suffrage movement of to-day."

I see from the daily papers that on the financial side, to which we, the women of the country, through direct and, still more, indirect taxation contribute so largely, much mapping-out is being done. In particular we are to have an enormous increase in the Naval Estimates. Five new Dreadnoughts, which in a comparatively short space of time will, in all probability, be displaced by more deadly instruments of destruction, are to be provided for the nation.

No word, meanwhile, of such legislation as will make the conditions under which the Woolmore family and thousands of other families have been and are living an impossible, gruesome dream. No word of Poor Law reform, of school clinics, of a comprehensive scheme of physical and mental education for our children, of such a living wage for women and girls as will enable them to lead decent and useful lives, of equal justice for men and women, of revision of the Divorce Laws, or of the heavy burden imposed upon industry by iniquitous land monopolies being removed.

"Oh!" I can hear our party politicians say, "you must give us a little breathing-time. We intend to consider all these matters by-and-by, each in its own turn. You women are not politically educated. You take limited views. Let us deal first with those big questions, without the settlement of which we may not be able to preserve our position, and then we shall be free for the other things." Which brings before us forcibly the big question of relative values. But with that I must deal on another occasion.

Meanwhile, let me venture on a quotation embodying a little bit of advice to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues. It was the outcome of a poet's experience; and poets, we must remember, in their moments of inspiration, see further than ordinary mortals. Said Robert Burns, looking out upon his world:

The best-laid plans of mice and men
 Gang aft agley.

Once in my life I lived near some Surrey pine woods which were famous for the gigantic ants that haunted them. These busy creatures, aristocrats of their species, had built for themselves tall castles of pine needles, and no doubt—an insect cannot see far—they believed the woods belonged to them. It was one of my amusements to watch the workers passing in procession, along the high road they had made for themselves, each carrying spoil or prey to the common dwelling. Once or twice I used my power. I drew my finger across their road and made a block of a heap of grass or a hillock of pine cones. Then what an amazement! What a scattering! How the little lords of the wood rushed wildly hither and thither! How, sometimes, they began fighting amongst themselves, and making off with one another's burdens! As I think of the Government's position now, as I consider their cynical disregard of the wants, aspirations, and just demands of the people (men and women), I am reminded of that little forest-drama.

The world belongs neither to politicians nor to statesmen—nay, not to men alone. To the children of men it has been given, and those who fail to understand that may in the near future, by some power that is neither that of man nor yet of woman, be made to see that

The best-laid plans of men
 Gang aft agley.

C. DESPARD.

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BRANCH NOTES.

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

Anerley and Crystal Palace District.—Miss J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

We are holding our first big public meeting on Wednesday, March 22, at 8.15 p.m. in Town Hall, Anerley, when Mrs. Despard and Mr. Joseph Clayton will be the speakers, Miss Ethel Fennings in the chair. In order to make this a great success, helpers are urgently needed to address envelopes, distribute handbills, and sell tickets, which are 1s. and 6d. each. Admission is free.

Croydon.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. TERRY, 9, Morland-avenue.

On Monday, March 13, through the generosity of Mrs. K. Harvey, one of the most ardent supporters of the League, we were enabled to open a local office at 3, The Arcade, High-street. This must prove a great help to our work, if every member will consider that success depends largely on herself. Many members have offered to take charge of the office, but more helpers are needed, so that no one shall be "weary in well-doing." Miss Grover, Mrs. Labrousse, Mrs. Ridley, Miss Jessett and Miss Stallard have already given or promised either chairs or tables, or both, and a few other articles. More chairs are needed, as we have had to hire in order to make a start. Office hours, 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. Members from other branches when visiting Croydon will always be welcome. A stock of literature, tea and marmalade (home-made) are on sale. Will members please make regular purchases, and bring friends who may wish to do the same?

It is encouraging to note that several new members have joined our branch lately. During the past week we have, with other local Suffrage Societies, canvassed Croydon in order to send a memorial to the County Council asking them to send a petition to Parliament, praying the Government to grant facilities for the Woman Suffrage Bill, which will be read a second time on May 5.

Hackney.—Hon. Secretary: Miss E. E. BUSBY, 4, Clarence-road, N.E.

All arrangements are now made in regard to the Census Protest Campaign in this district, which is to be carried out on a large scale. We hope to hold an open-air meeting every evening until the end of the month, and also to get as much canvassing done as possible. A large public meeting will be held on Monday, March 27, at the Hackney Town Hall, at 8 p.m.,

preceded by music at 7.30. The speakers on this occasion are Mrs. Despard, Mr. Joseph Clayton, and Miss Alison Neilans, with Mrs. Mustard in the chair. Tickets are now ready at the sum of 1s., 6d., and 3d. To enable this campaign to be carried out as arranged, it is necessary that we have a large number of helpers, and any who can help in speaking, chalking, sandwiching, or the many other ways, should at once send in their names and what time they can give to Miss Busby. Under the heading of "Forthcoming Events" will be found some of the meetings we have arranged. Helpers and supporters should meet at Suffrage Shop, above address, at 7.30 p.m. each evening. We are most pleased that the Stamford Hill Branch is joining us in this campaign, and we hope in this way the result may be more effective than by each branch working singly.

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

On Tuesday, March 7, a very successful drawing-room meeting was held at 161, Croxted-road, Dulwich, by kind invitation of Miss Davies. The speakers were Mrs. Despard and Dr. Alice Vickery. The meeting opened with the singing of "The Awakening," after which Dr. Vickery, in an interesting address, referred briefly to some of the most serious and disastrous consequences which arise from the exclusion of women from the rights of citizenship. Mrs. Despard, who was most enthusiastically welcomed by a large audience of members and friends, gave a most instructive and inspiring address, referring especially to the moral and spiritual forces that are working behind the agitation for Votes for Women, and by illustrations drawn from religious and historical sources she traced the long struggle for freedom that has been made by the human race. Passing on to the present phase of the struggle, she referred to the Census Boycott, and explained that it is one of the most logical and effective protests that women can make against their exclusion from political liberty. At the close of the meeting votes of thanks were enthusiastically accorded to Mrs. Despard and to our hostess, also to Mrs. Wotton and Miss Jenks, whose music and singing added much to the pleasure of the meeting.

A good collection was taken and five new members joined our branch, and several visitors gave their names as sympathisers who would like to know more about our League. A good quantity of literature, badges, and copies of THE VOTE were sold.

Mid-London Branch (late Central).—Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing, W.

On Wednesday, March 22, the branch committee will meet at 1, Robert-street, at 7 p.m., and a most important business meeting of branch members will be held at 8 p.m. This being our first members' meeting since the annual one, there will be many matters to be discussed and plans for future work to be considered, and I hope that all members will make a special effort to be present. On March 29, in addition to a speech from Mrs. Francis (N.E.C.) on "Women and the Census," we are to have a new Suffrage play by Miss J. M. Harvey. It will be under the direction of Miss Craig, and tickets for this performance will be 1s. (reserved) and 6d. (unreserved). Mrs. Tanner, of the Mid-London Branch, spoke at a Debating Society in Clapham on March 8. The room was full, and in the debate which followed several speeches were made in favour of our measure. Contrary to the usual procedure, a resolution was put by the desire of the audience, and this was carried without a single dissentient.

Northen Heights.—Hon. Secretary: Miss A. MITCHELL, "Merok," Great North-road, Highgate.

This branch held a meeting in support of the Census Protest on Tuesday, February 28, at Parkinson Hall, Hornsey, when Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Vulliamy and Mr. Manson spoke. The meeting opened with the singing by Miss J. Fennings of "The Awakening." Mrs. Vulliamy, who took the chair, explained why the meeting was called, and urged the women present, since they were not considered "persons" and since they were not consulted with regard to the Census, to refuse to help the Government by giving any information about themselves or their households. Mrs. Despard, who received a very enthusiastic reception, explained the aims of the Women's Freedom League, and showed that they were wider than Woman Suffrage, but that that must come first. She showed from examples in her own experience how helpless women often are on public bodies because they are powerless to alter the laws. She was sure that women would not use the vote for purely party purposes.

Mrs. Despard then referred to the Census Protest as part of a "Stop the Traffic Campaign." Hitherto in their protests women had only hurt themselves, now they were about to make the Government suffer. Mr. Manson referred to the criticism which had been passed on Suffragists, that they were in too great a hurry. He quite disagreed with this, and he would advise them not to lay down any weapons till the fight was won. Exactly the same things were said against granting the vote to women as had been said against granting it to working men. After the speeches questions were asked on the Census, and a good number of women promised to refuse to be counted. Several new members were made and a good collection taken. Our thanks are due to all members who helped in working up the meeting, and to several members of the Tottenham Branch for their kind assistance.

Stamford Hill.—Mrs. CUNNINGHAM, 114, Holmleigh-road. Notwithstanding a cold wind, a very interesting meeting was

held at the corner of Amhurst-park on Friday evening, at which Mrs. Vulliamy was kind enough to be the sole speaker. The "At Home" on Tuesday afternoon was very pleasant and animated, and Miss Underwood's explanations of the different ways of avoiding giving information to the Census enumerators were most clear and unmistakable. We were much gratified by the attendance of so many strangers. May they soon be induced to become members! The speakers' class will meet at Mrs. Thomson's on Thursday, March 23, at 4 p.m., when Mrs. Thomson will move, "That the Home Secretary be requested to appoint a Committee to inquire into the general underpayment of women's labour." Mrs. Griffiths acting as seconder and Mrs. Cunningham being in the chair. On Thursday afternoon next Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett has kindly promised to address an open-air meeting that will, if possible, be held at the Stoke Newington end of Cazenove-road. Failing permission to assemble at that spot, we shall meet at the Stamford-hill end of the Clapton High-road.

Brighton and Hove.

Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham-place, Brighton; Miss HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

A most interesting evening, arranged by Mrs. Francis, was held on Saturday last at Miss Strachan's house, "Tylehurst," Dyke-road. Dramatic and vocal interpretations were given of the works of women poets and women song writers, and the result served to show, by the variety and number of songs and recitations, what a pleasant programme can be made out of the works of living women. The idea is well worth working up for a more important occasion in a large hall.

The next meeting will be on Saturday, March 18, at 7.30 p.m., and will be held at 8, San Remo, Hove, by Miss Hare's kind invitation. A reading of Bernard Shaw's "Press Cuttings," arranged by Mrs. Francis, will be given, and those who had the pleasure of being present at the last reading under the same management will not want to miss this one.

On Wednesday, March 22, at 3.30 p.m., a drawing-room meeting will be held at 22, Sackville-gardens, Hove, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Godson. Mrs. Francis will speak on "Race Suicide," and Miss Hare will give her lecture on "Florence Nightingale."

All members are invited to these meetings and are asked to bring unconverted friends.—E. M. W.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

Miss Mottershall's whist drive was again a success, and as a result she has handed 12s. to the treasurer for the Census Protest Fund. On Thursday, March 16, at 7 p.m., a members' meeting will be held at 6, Clarence View, to make final arrangements for Mrs. Despard's "At Home" at the Sandringham Hall on Saturday, March 18, at 8 p.m. The tickets for the "At Home" are 9d. each, including light refreshments, and may be obtained at the above address, or from the members. Will members and friends please remember the jumble sale which we intend to hold at the beginning of May. To Census Protest Fund: Miss Hooper, 6s. Our treasurer, Mrs. Tremaine, 49, Whitworth-road, Gosport, will be glad to receive contributions to this fund. THE VOTE is always obtainable at 4, St. Paul's-road, Southsea. S. WHETTON.

Eastbourne.

Owing to the removal to London of Mrs. Dilks, the indefatigable Hon. Secretary of the Eastbourne Branch, arrangements have been made by the members for the continuance of the local work under a Committee of six ladies with Mrs. Allen as Hon. Treasurer, Miss Hart as VOTE Organiser, Miss Agnew as Literature Secretary, and Mrs. Francis (51, Buckingham-place, Brighton) as Secretary *pro tem*. At the meeting, at which these arrangements were concluded, a most cordial expression of grateful recognition of her work was accorded to Mrs. Dilks. It is hoped to arrange to meet Lady Stout on March 31 at Upperton-gardens. Committee "At Home," meeting to follow at 5.30 p.m.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser: Miss MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire. Chester.—Miss WOODALL, 13, Abbey-square.

On Wednesday, 8th, a party of members of this branch accompanied Miss Nellie Smith, and helped to make the meeting at Ellesmere Port successful. The chair was taken by the Rev. A. Jackson, who pointed out that the methods of militant suffragists did not affect the principle. After the able and interesting speeches of both Miss Smith and Miss Harris, who very kindly came from Liverpool to help to break this new ground, many questions were asked, and more than twenty names of sympathisers were handed in. It is hoped that a branch will shortly be formed there.

A meeting was held on Friday evening through the kindness of Mrs. Dutton, who lent a large room at 34, Fordham-street. Miss Nellie Smith had promised to speak, but was prevented by illness, and as there was no time to find another to take her place, our secretary, Miss Woodall, kindly stepped into the gap and made an interesting little speech. Questions were asked, which proved entertaining and instructive. Miss H. Davis, a lady guardian who is proposing to start a crèche in the town, gave interesting details which were much appreciated, and it was decided to have a debate on the subject at a subsequent meeting. As a result of the meeting one new member joined, the offer to

take six copies of THE VOTE each week, and a collection of 3s. 8d. for the cause in response to an appeal from Miss Taylor, who took the chair.—E. G. THELWELL.

Eccles.—Miss KIPPS, 16, Fitzwarren-street, Seedley, Manchester.

The Eccles Branch has had an energetic week. On Tuesday the members met to discuss the Census Protest with Miss Manning in the anti-room of the Co-operative Hall, Eccles. The Branch has many passive resisters, and workers are wanted to distribute leaflets, arrange drawing-room meetings, &c., in order that the protest may be carried out on a large scale in the district. On Friday a Whist Drive and Dance, kindly arranged by Mr. Allen for the benefit of the branch, was held in Bengon's Hall, Montongreen. The guests spent a most enjoyable evening, and all are grateful to Mr. Allen for his efforts on behalf of the funds.

Sale.—Miss GEILER, "Thornlea," Wardle-road. VOTE Agents: Mrs. HOBSON, 13, Northenden-road; Mrs. WALKER, 125, Washway-road.

The Speakers' Class met on Monday, by kind invitation of Mrs. Cross, at 31, School-road. The subject for discussion was, "That England's expenditure on armaments is excessive and a menace to the prosperity of the nation." Mrs. Cross was unanimously voted to the chair. Miss Peck opened the debate in favour of reduction of armaments, and was seconded by Miss Daly; Mrs. Gothard and Mrs. Halbian opposed. Mrs. and Miss Manning and Miss Miller also took part in the discussion. Next week, Monday, March 20, the class will meet at Harper Hill, the subject for discussion being "Franchise Reform." Several members have promised to propose improvements in our present electoral laws, and we expect a particularly interesting discussion. The committee has met twice during the week, and plans for a Census "At Home" on a large scale are in hand.

Urmston.—Miss M. HUDSON, "Oaklands," Flixton, near Manchester.

On Wednesday Nurse Griffin held a delightful drawing-room meeting at Fern Cottage, Flixton-road, when Miss Manning gave an address on "Do women count?" Nurse Griffin, who opened the meeting, spoke of the many disabilities under which women suffer and urged all those present to join in the Census Protest. Our next meeting will be held at 42, Flixton-road (over Wills' shop), on Friday, March 17, at 8 p.m., when Miss Neal will introduce the following resolution: "That on grounds of justice and expediency votes should be given to duly qualified women." Miss Neal will be opposed by Mr. S. Allen.

No Votes for Women—No Census.—Many of our members attended the W.S.P.W. "At Home" on Friday afternoon and had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Laurence Housman on Census resistance. This protest should be a large one in the Manchester district. I have had several houses and offices promised for the night of April 2. Three at least of these will house a hundred guests, whilst others are arranging to receive smaller numbers. Will protestors lose no time in sending in their names that all arrangements may be made in good time, and the night of April 2 be as pleasant as possible.

West Hartlepool.—Hon. Secretary: Miss J. M. LEIGHTON, 16, Clifton-street.

On Tuesday, March 28, at 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Best, of Middlesbrough, will speak at the Waverley Café, Stockton-street, on "The Place of Women in the State." All members are urged to attend and bring their friends with them.

EAST ANGLIA.—Hon. Organiser: Miss ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road, Ipswich.

Last Monday we held a "hard-up" social at 16, Arcade-street. It seemed by the supper provided that we are not bankrupt yet. Mrs. Tippett sang "The Awakening," and an impromptu play was acted called "The Trial of a Suffragette." Mrs. Stansfield was the prisoner in the dock and defended herself in a splendid manner. Mrs. Hossack as judge and Mrs. Tippett as prosecutor, kept the audience in fits of laughter. Mrs. Pratt was the policeman, who said she was scratched, and Miss Andrews the witness who could not be brought to the point and never told the truth.

On Thursday Mrs. Tippett gave a delightful address at our W.F.L. offices on the subject of "A Suffragette in France." We wish to heartily thank Dr. Knight who has sent some kind contributions to our barrow.

Stowmarket.

On Tuesday a very successful meeting was held in the Parish Room, Mrs. Tippett and myself were the speakers. Mrs. Napier Prentice and Mrs. Peacock rendered us valuable assistance. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Josling, the local secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild, for the help she gave in working up the meeting. She has now joined our League and is bringing others with her.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

Suffolk.—Hon. Secretary: Miss ADA M. MATTHEW, 21, Fir Tree-terrace, Hadleigh.

On Thursday, March 9, an "At Home" was held at Fernbank, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Bastian. There was a good attendance of members and friends, and the speaker was Mrs. Tippett, of Wetherden. She gave a very interesting report of the Annual Conference, to which she went as our representative, and at the close Mrs. Heard, our Vice-President, proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker in the absence of the President, Mrs. Bastian, which was unanimously carried.

WALES AND MONMOUTH.—Hon. Organiser: Mrs. CLEEVES, "Chez Nous," Sketty, Glamorgan. Cardiff.—Mrs. WOOLF, Royal Hotel.

On Tuesday we had a very busy day in Cardiff. At noon we held a business meeting at the docks. Mrs. Woolf took the chair, and Miss Munro made a stirring and eloquent speech, while Miss Tite and I held the W.F.L. banner.

In the afternoon a drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Robinson's, 24, Albany-road. Miss Tite and Miss Munro were again the speakers, while I occupied the chair. Our best thanks are due to our hostess for giving and arranging this very successful meeting. In the evening we met the Hon. Secretaries of the Barry Branch, and afterwards Miss Tite addressed the S. Glamorgan Branch at the Royal Hotel, by Mrs. Woolf's kind permission.

Newport.

On Monday an interesting meeting was held at Newport. Miss Tite and Miss Munro were the speakers, and I took the chair. Many questions were asked and answered, and a vote of thanks was proposed by a man in the audience to the speakers. We congratulate Miss Munro on her week's work in Newport.

Swansea.

On Sunday afternoon a delightful meeting was held at "Chez Nous," when we had our Hon. Treasurer, Miss Tite, and Miss Anna Munro with us. All present were interested and charmed with Miss Tite's clear and business-like speech. Many members and friends here are going to resist the Census, and after Miss Munro's stirring address on Sunday more have joined the ranks of Census-resisters. I hope "Chez Nous" will be full from attic to cellar on the night of April 2.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 502, SAUCHIEHALL STREET. Suffrage Centre Managers: Miss K. McARTHUR. Hon. Secretary: MISS MINA B. STEVEN. Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN. Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Edinburgh.—Shop and Headquarters, 33, Forrest-road. Hon. Secretary—Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place. Hon. Treasurer—Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street. Hon. Shop Secretary—Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent.

The census boycott is, of course, the one topic of interest at present, and we have been fortunate in hearing both Miss Eunice Murray and Miss Marguerite Sidley on the question. As a result we have now several names of householders willing to resist, so that a large number of "passive resisters" can be accommodated. We earnestly hope that no member or friend who can come out for the night will hesitate. Remember what other women have suffered, and rejoice that this is a protest in which all can take part. Names are wanted immediately, so that arrangements can be made.

An attractive programme, including an original dramatic entertainment, is being prepared for the social meeting on March 29, when Mrs. Despard is to speak. The Oddfellows' Hall has been taken, and tickets (1s. each) may be had at the shop. The forthcoming "birthday sales" and the jumble sale must also be kept in mind. There is plenty of room at the shop for the storage of goods.—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

Dundee.—Miss CLUNUS, 1, Blackness-crescent.

Mrs. Allan presided at the branch meeting on Thursday. Miss Deas took us from East to West, across Canada from Montreal to Vancouver, describing people and things in a very interesting and amusing way. It was agreed to have a Census demonstration on Saturday, April 1. Mrs. Allan called for names of passive resisters. It is expected that Dundee will respond nobly to the call. All the members are requested to keep in mind the jumble sale which is to be on Saturday, March 25. Goods will be received by Miss Husband.—J. A. SMART.

Kirkintilloch.—Hon. Secretary: Miss J. C. MACINTYRE, Woodhead-avenue.

The monthly meeting of the Kirkintilloch Branch was held on Tuesday, March 7. In the absence of Miss Kirby, Miss D. C. Macintyre presided. Mr. Scrimgeour, from Glasgow, gave an interesting address on "Progress and Poverty," and a good discussion followed.

Glasgow.—302, Sauchiehall-street. Hon. Secretary: Miss MINA STEVEN. Hon. Treasurer: Miss JANET L. BUNTEN.

The Whist Drive to be held in the Centre on Friday, March 24, at 7.30 p.m., again promises to be a great success. Will members who have not yet secured tickets please apply at once for same either to their District Convener or to the Centre. Price 2s. 6d. each. Our next "At Home" will be held in the Centre on March 25 at 7.30 p.m. Miss Jacob (of Edinburgh) will be the speaker. All members and friends are cordially invited to attend. Pollokshields District Committee are working hard to make the public meeting to be held in Pollokshields Burgh Hall on Thursday afternoon, March 30, at 3 p.m., a great success. Will all members who have any time to spare call in to the Centre and get handbills to distribute. Mrs. Despard and Miss Anna Munro are to be the speakers. Admission free.

(Continued on page 255.)

THE TURKISH BATH MAN TALKS TO WOULD-BE ROCKFELLERS.



Wherever I go—and I get about freely—I hear people talking about investments. Rich, or thrifty poor, they want a place where they can put their sovereigns so that they can be fruitful and multiply.

It is not for me to comment on the modern man's hunger for a golden dividend. It is very human, but I am not so sure that the modern craze for investment leads to happiness.

One year it is gold mines; another year we go rubber mad. Later we lubricate our finances by wild investments in oil shares.

Some find investment a Tom Tiddler's ground—and some don't.

The other day a bank smashed, and how many investments turned to ruined hopes?

To-day we read of the suicide of a man caught in the rubber boom. Some people invest their

money and put it in a safe place. When they go back the money is still there, only there is much more of it. Others—the many—put their money in unsafe places, and when they return for it, their gold has vanished. All they have for their shining sovereigns is a heap of useless paper.

By the way, I am in the investment line. I sell Hygiene for the million, and I pay regular dividends—cheques drawn on the Bank of Health. If you want a safe place for a little of your money, send it to me. You will not need to come for your dividend. It will follow you about in the form of an ever-present consciousness of radiant health. You send me 30s., and I will send you my share certificate entitling you to draw on the Bank of Health. My share certificate is the Gem Turkish Bath Cabinet, the best investment a man or woman can make.

Here are a few lines from one of my gratified shareholders out of this week's post:—

I have had good results from my bath. I had Rheumatism in a bad state. I could not walk without great pain. I only used your bath about three weeks, and now I am flying all over the town. I was also covered with Eczema from head to foot. This has been in me for seven years. I have spent money in bundles trying to cure it, and everything failed. I bought your bath to cure the Rheumatism, and it cured the Eczema at the same time.

I do not need to hide from my Shareholders when the question of dividends comes up.

For the last two years I have offered my Gem Turkish Bath as a certain cure for Rheumatism, because almost every other man or woman I meet suffers more or less from Rheumatism or the twin devils of the same name—Sciatica and Lumbago.

It must not be supposed that the value of the Bath Cabinet is limited to the elimination of uric acid. It is equally good in the treatment of Asthma, Bronchitis, and Lung Troubles.

I have also had grateful testimony from people who have suffered excruciating pains through Liver and Kidney troubles, gall stones, and skin diseases. For the treatment of skin diseases alone an investment in the Gem Turkish Bath is the best a man or woman can make. I have known obstinate cases cured by my bath in four weeks, and the patients have been cured permanently.

Now, the point for you is—are you going to possess a bath and draw big drafts on the Bank of Health? Or are you going to be one of those men and women who hear of a good investment, and when it is too late to put their money into it, spend their lives regretting lost opportunities?

I can give proof of the value of a Gem Turkish Bath to you, and of the value it will give you in better health if you are in ill-health; or more physical and mental joy in life, if you are well. I am always giving proof.

And the best proof I know is to offer you, in your home, a trial of the bath itself—so that you may see whether it does for you what it has done for thousands of people.

You can make the trial in this way. Send me a money order for 30s. Make it payable ten days hence. By return I will send you a bath, which will be despatched on receipt of your instructions. You try it for seven days in your home. If after trial you do not think it has already given you a draft on the Bank of Health, pack it up and send it back. Directly I get the bath back I return your money. I do not haggle or make excuses—I send your money back. At least let me send you my 100-page book on Thermal Bathing. It is sent post free.

Address all communications to my company, The B Gem Supplies Co., Ltd, 22, Pear-tree-street, Goswell-road, London, E. C.

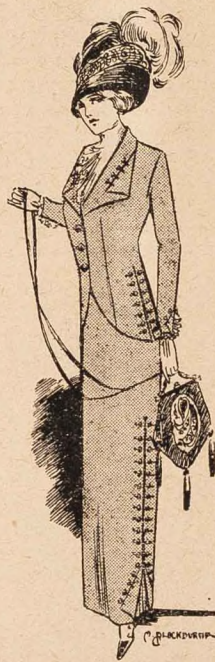
IBSEN AT THE COURT THEATRE.

Genius is the one blossom on the Tree of Life which never loses its bloom. It is the perfect fruit which neither cloys nor rots. It is the fount of virility at which weary mortals renew their strength. It is the odour of existence and the water which sprinkles the dusty highways of the world. More than anything else, perhaps, it enables us to grasp the idea of immortality. For genius is always young, always new. It deals not with the pegs upon which fashion hangs her robes but with human nature as it is. Ruthlessly it tears away both the wrappings of vanity and the rags of necessity, revealing to us life in all its nakedness—its beauty and its ugliness, its truth and falsity, its grandeur and abjectness. Not once in a generation does the branch of genius blossom. And when it does, so radiant is its immortal glory as to blind our earthy, unaccustomed eyes. Rare as is the hand of genius, rarer still is the eye that perceives and knows it at the first glance. From the beginning it has been so. And as civilisation invariably describes a circle in its revolutions so will it always be.

"A Doll's House," which is now being played at the Court Theatre, and will continue to be played till March 18—is the work of a genius whose noonday brilliance was long resented by the weak-sighted of his time. Like the great of all ages, Ibsen the reformer was in advance of his time. But how badly would fare the laggards in life's journey did not the lights of the pioneers make clear the path! It is difficult to realise that "A Doll's House" was written over thirty years ago, since the ideas it expresses are so typical of the thought of to-day. Indeed it is only the "advanced" of our time who have followed in the wake of Ibsen. The Dolls' Houses of the world still, alas! are considered most desirable residences by a great number of both men and women. There is no need to describe the *motif* of the play, since every reader of THE VOTE has doubtless more than an acquaintance with such a splendid piece of feminist propaganda as "A Doll's House." But since there are so few opportunities of witnessing the drama—Ibsen not having yet come into his own with the English populace—no London Suffragist should omit paying a visit to the Court Theatre while the play is being produced.

Every reader of plays knows to what an extent a dramatist gains or loses according to the manner in which his works are interpreted. Ibsen was a complete master of his art. Every sentence in his dialogue is pregnant with meaning; every word charged with a subtlety only apparent to the intellectually alert. Not being concerned with the mediocre or phlegmatic of brain, Ibsen wasted neither time nor ink in phrase-making. He was content to make his appeal to the minority (a term which is generally synonymous with the advanced) knowing that the thinkers are also the doers, that the few influence the many. This being the case, Ibsen was—and is—more than ordinarily dependent upon an understanding and sympathetic rendering of his plays. To the casual and unawakened reader "A Doll's House" is merely the tale of a domestic quarrel, ending not at all after the approved manner—in books at any rate. Transplant that same reader to the Court Theatre. Let him witness the wonderful performance of Lydia Yavorska and her clever company; and unless he be abnormally deficient in the quality of understanding he will reconsider his decision of the play. Far from dealing with trivialities he will discover the drama to be not only an indictment of man's attitude towards woman, but a revelation of its consequent disastrous results upon the whole of the human race. In "A Doll's House" nobody escapes. Dr. Rank, Mrs. Linden, Anna, Nora, her children, Torvald himself. But the play ends upon a note of hope. True, the reverberation of the door as Nora slams it behind her sounds dismal enough to those who do not read aright. It is Woman saying good-bye to her illusions—the illusions that seem so fair, that in reality are so ugly. And though the miracle did not happen—that is, Nora's

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private personal miracle—the "miracle of miracles" is yet adumbrated. Do we not in our day see more than its shadow looming on the horizon?
M. SLIEVE MCGOWAN.

THE DUNDEE CANVASS.

Miss Clunas sends us the following analysis of the women voters on the Dundee Municipal Roll. ANALYSIS OF DUNDEE MUNICIPAL WOMEN VOTERS' ROLL, February, 1911.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS.		
Householders who under the Conciliation Bill would be Parliamentary voters	3,866	
NON-PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS.		
Non-occupant owners, who under the Conciliation Bill would not be Parliamentary voters	628	
£10 occupants	389	
Wives whose husbands already vote in the constituency	279	
Lodgers	202	
Service franchise	22	
	1,520	
NO RETURNS.		
Refused information	514	
Removed or not found in	290	
Dead	69	
	873	
	6,259	
ANALYSIS OF HOUSEHOLDERS.		
STATE.		
Widows	2,046 (52.9%)	1 or 2 .. 2,177
Single	1,450 (37.5%)	3 or 4 .. 1,178
Married	370 (9.6%)	5 .. 183
	3,866	6 or more .. 328

NO PAID WORK—		
2,045.	No paid work	2,045
PAID OCCUPATION—	Mill or factory	803
	Commercial	307
	Lodging houses	191
	Professional	154
	Dressmaking	128
1,820.	Sundry (including charwomen)	238

CLASS—		
A—Professional workers	129 (3.4%)	
B—Weekly wage-earners	1,690 (43.8%)	
C—Working-class housewives	1,759 (45.3%)	
D—Women of independent means	288 (7.5%)	

3,866

**W. B.
NUFORM
CORSETS.**



MODEL No. 477.
A very popular model for average figures. Made in a substantial cantilever, white or grey. Sizes—18 to 30 inches.
PER 3/11 PAIR.

THE CORSET QUESTION OF TO-DAY.

Practically speaking every reader of this paper is interested in the question of Corsets, and that interest must, in the natural order of things, at some time or other find its practical outlet in the act of purchasing. Now it is one thing to buy a corset and quite another thing to be perfectly satisfied with it, after you have bought it, and that is just where we want to be of service to you.

We are not content to merely sell you a corset; we take a personal interest in the matter, and are not satisfied unless we are quite certain that the model supplied is in every way suited to the particular requirements of your figure. We have at our Show and Fitting Rooms a staff of expert assistants who make it their business to send every customer away satisfied with her purchase. You can be personally fitted (and we advise this wherever possible) without any extra charge, but should this not be convenient, you can rely upon the very best possible attention at the hands of our postal department. A postcard to us will bring you a daintily-illustrated booklet, together with self-measurement form, which when filled in is an adequate guide to us in the selection of a suitable model.

All measurements taken are registered for future reference, thus ensuring a perfect fit at any future time. Pay us a visit. You will always be welcome at the **REGAL CORSET PARLOUR** (Room 12), Kensington High Street, W.

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For average and well-developed figures. Fairly high bust; long over hips. Made in a strong white cantilever. Sizes—19 to 30 inches.
PER 8/11 PAIR.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

(Continued from page 253)

Tickets for Mrs. Despard's lecture on "Shelley," in the Suffrage Centre, on Thursday, March 30, at 8 p.m., are selling well. Will members or friends who have not yet secured tickets please apply to the Centre for same. A jumble sale will be held in Parkhead on Saturday, April 29. Contributions of old clothes, furniture, crockery—in fact, everything will be acceptable. Please send a postcard to the Suffrage Centre if you have anything you wish to send, and a van will call for same.—K. McA.

**GLASGOW FUND.
JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.**

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Miss Bessie Murdoch	0	2	6	Collecting Box:			
Mrs. Sloan	0	10	6	Mrs. Collins	0	7	7
Miss Steven	1	1	0	Collections at Meetings	7	19	7½
Mrs. Wands	0	17	6	Per Miss Kirby	0	4	6
Mrs. Stevens	0	2	6	Miss Sidley	0	10	10
Mrs. Springeour	0	10	6	Miss Shennan	0	2	0
Miss J. Scrymgeour	1	4	0	Sales in Shop and			
Miss Hamilton	1	1	0	Tea Room	16	18	4½
Mrs. Murray	2	0	0	Proceeds of Whist Drive	8	13	0
Miss E. Murray	1	10	0	Membership Fees	3	15	0
Miss R. C. McCallum	0	3	6				
Election Fund:					£48	1	5
Dennistoun	0	7	6				

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Women's Tax Resistance League.
Secretary, Mrs. KINETON PARKES, 98, St Martin's-lane, W.C.
On Thursday afternoon, March 9, a drawing-room meeting was held at 30, Hyde Park Gate, by kind permission of Mrs. Stanton Coit. Mrs. Zangwill was in the chair, and gave an opening address which was full of charm and subtle truth. Her delightful personality always serves to emphasise the depth of thought contained in her remarks. Miss Abadam was the principal speaker, and her address was a masterpiece of oratory directed to emphasise the grave responsibility of the taxpaying women of this country towards the moral, spiritual and political emancipation of woman. Mrs. Kineton Parkes gave a short account of the work of the society, formed to put into practice the principles of tax resistance, which was followed by a good discussion, opened by Dr. Stanton Coit. The secre-

tary of the league also addressed a crowded audience in the Public Hall, Croydon, on the subject of tax resistance, on Tuesday evening, the 7th, and the chair was taken by Miss Green, treasurer for the local branch of the W.S.P.U.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

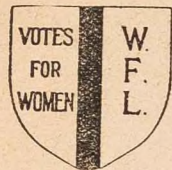
Forthcoming meetings will be held as follows:—March 20, at 48, Leam-terrace, Leamington, at 3 p.m., Rev. W. C. Roberts and Rev. Athelstan Corbet. March 21, at the Council Offices, Hendon, a free meeting at 8 p.m., subject, "Sweated Industries, and the Remedy," Miss Constance Smith and Rev. C. Hinscliff. March 30, at Mrs. Shewell Cooper's house, 8, Warwick-avenue, Paddington; speaker, Mrs. A. J. Webbe. The subjects of the remaining Lenten Addresses at St. Mary's, Paddington Green, by the Rev. C. Hinscliff, are: March 16, "Business"; March 23, "The Poor"; March 30, "The Unfit"; April 6, "The Unfit." On April 4 a League Service will be held at St. Mary's Church, Warwick, at 8 p.m., when the sermon will be preached by Ven. Archdeacon Escreet. On Thursday, April 6, Rev. Claude Hinscliff will conduct a Quiet Day at St. Sepulchre's, Holborn Holy Communion, 7.30 and 8 a.m.; addresses at 11 a.m., 1.15, 3 and 6 p.m. Last week Rev. C. Hinscliff addressed a private meeting of matrons and nurses at the Park Hospital, Hither Green; Chairman, Dr. Drummond, Chaplain of the Hospital. The same evening a successful meeting was held in the small Borough Hall, Greenwich, at which speeches were made which in the opinion of the local Press call for episcopal censure.

OUR NEW SECRETARY.

Miss Underwood, our new General Secretary, has taken up her work in the office; and I wish to express my own satisfaction and to congratulate the League on having secured her services. As secretary (hon.) of the Clapham Branch, and as moving spirit in our memorable Mary Woolstonecroft Memorial meetings at Bournemouth she has already helped us materially; and I feel sure that she will fill successfully the difficult position to which she has been called. The work is strenuous at present and volunteers are needed, especially for the work connected with the Census protest. Will any who can afford time communicate with Miss Underwood?—N. C. DESPARD.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Thurs., Mar. 16.**—Morning-lane, 8 p.m. Poster Parade, starting from 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, at 5.45 p.m.
 "At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30. Lady Stout, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Vulliamy.
- Fri., Mar. 17.**—Census Meeting, N. Finchley. Stephen's Memorial Hall. Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Nevinson, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, 8 p.m.
 Lecture Room, Public Library, Laven-der-hill, 8 p.m. Mrs. Gatty, Miss Hurst. Hackney Downs Station, 8 p.m.
 "Old Pump," Uxbridge, at 8 p.m. Mr. Victor Duval.
 Powerscroft-road, 8 p.m.
 11.30 p.m., Poster Parade, Finchley-road Station.
- Mon., Mar. 20.**—Forest-road, Kingsland-road, 8 p.m. 2 p.m., Poster Parade.
- Tues., Mar. 21.**—Census Meeting at Hampstead Town Hall (small), 3 p.m. Mrs. Brailsford, Mrs. Francis, and Mrs. Massey. Chair: Mrs. Nevinson.
 Census Meeting, Phillips' Music Rooms, 13, South Side, Clapham-common, S.W. 3 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Tanner. Clapton-square, 8 p.m.
 No. 3, The Arcade, High-street, Croydon. Weekly Sewing Meeting, and discussion on the Census, 2.45 p.m.
 2 p.m., Poster Parade.
- Wed., Mar. 22.**—Mid-London Branch: Committee, 7 p.m.; members, 8 p.m., 1, Robert-street. Miss Tite.
 8.15 p.m., Town Hall, Anerley. Mrs. Despard, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Miss E. Fenning.
 Morning-lane, 8 p.m.
 14, Homefield-road, Bromley, Kent. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Gatty. 3.30 p.m. Priory Schools, Acton, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn, Miss F. A. Underwood, Mr. J. Y. Kennedy.
 2.30 p.m., Poster Parade, Kensington Arcade, High-street.
- Thurs., Mar. 23.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Mr. J. Cameron Grant, Mrs. How Martyn. Hackney Downs Station, 8 p.m.
 2 p.m., Poster Parade.
- Fri., Mar. 24.**—1, Robert-street, 2 p.m. National Executive Committee.
 Queen's-road, Dalston, 8 p.m.
- Sat., Mar. 25.**—1, Robert-street, 11 a.m. National Executive Committee.
 "Hard Up" Social, Holborn Town Hall, Gray's Inn-road (small), 6.30 p.m.
 "Old Pump," Uxbridge, at 8 p.m. Miss Gadsden.

PROVINCES.

- BRIGHTON.**
Sat., Mar. 18.—8, San Remo, Hove, 8 p.m. "Press Cuttings."
Mon., March 20.—Tax Resistance Protest, Black Lion-street. Mrs. How Martyn. Census meeting to follow.
Wed., March 22.—Drawing-room Meeting. Hostess: Mrs. Godson, 22, Sackville-gardens, Hove.
- BURY ST. EDMUNDS.**
Fri., Mar. 31.—Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Tippett.
- CHELTENHAM.**
Thurs., Mar. 23.—7.30 p.m. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Neilans.
- MARLOW, BUCKS.**
Fri., Mar. 17.—Mrs. Vulliamy, Mrs. Sargant Florence.
- PORTSMOUTH.**
Sat., Mar. 18.—7.30 p.m., Sandringham Hotel. Mrs. Despard. Census Meeting.
- WOLVERHAMPTON.**
Sun., Mar. 19.—Dudley Labour Hall, 6.30 p.m. Mrs. Emma Sproson. Subject: "The Economic Position of Women."
- WELLINGBOROUGH.**
Tues., Mar. 21.—Miss Tite.
- IPSWICH.**
Thurs., Mar. 23.—16, Arcade-street, 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Manning Prentice.
- SCOTLAND.**
GLASGOW.
Thurs., Mar. 16.—Govan Cross, 8 p.m. Miss Anna Munro.
Fri., Mar. 17.—Springburn, 8 p.m. Miss Anna Munro.
Thurs., Mar. 23.—Dennistoun, 8 p.m. Miss Anna Munro.

- Fri., Mar. 24.**—Whist Drive, Suffrage Centre, 7-11 p.m. Tickets 2s. 6d.
- Sat., Mar. 25.**—"At Home," 3.30 p.m. Miss Jacobs, B.Sc.
- EDINBURGH.**
Tues., Mar. 21.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 4 p.m.
- Wed., Mar. 22.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. Branch Meeting, 8 p.m., Dr. Taylor, "Women and the Law."
- Wed., Mar. 29.**—Annual Social Meeting. Speaker: Mrs. Despard.
 Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest-road. Social Meeting, 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.
- SWANSEA.**
Tues., Mar. 21.—Annual Meeting, St. Gabriel's Hall. "How the Vote was Won." Business Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Entertainment, 8 o'clock. Tickets 1s.
- Tues., Mar. 28.**—Jumble Sale, Ragged Schools, 6 o'clock.
- CARDIFF.**
Sat., Mar. 25.—Jumble Sale.

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THE VOTE

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

VOL. III. No. 74.

SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1911.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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Offices: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

Published by W. SPEIGHT & SONS, 98 & 99, Fetter Lane, E.C.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

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Foreign Countries ... 8/8 " " "

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

By Kind Permission.

On two occasions lately the Home Secretary has been asked to order an inquiry into the conduct of the police. The first was that of the South Wales strike riots; the second was that of the women's deputations in November. On both occasions he expressed perfect satisfaction with the police methods, and refused inquiry. The report made by General Macready of some of the sufferings in South Wales throws light into the dark and mysterious byways of the Ministerial mind. It would appear that we have all been mistaken about the functions of those whom we had looked upon as protectors of the peace. They are merely protectors of property.

One fact which has struck General Macready is "that the mine managers are looked upon by the local police as having a sort of authority over them." Again, "the mine managers pay the extra police who are employed in the collieries, and in normal times are at their beck and call." A mine manager who was told that certain men must be withdrawn from the district answered, "I had made a special requisition for their services, and they were employees of mine as long as I wished."

Masculine Hypocrisy.

Lady Selborne's action in "borrowing the name" of her friend, Lady Constance Lytton, in a letter to *The Times*, has caused quite a flutter in the masculine dovecote. One particularly virtuous politician—a member of the party now in office—is to ask a question in the House of Commons with regard to its legality, so great is his wrath that a mere woman should have presumed to have poached the very tiniest game on the preserves hitherto sacred to the male politician. That Lady Selborne merely stated well-known facts in her epistle, and that she acted with the full approval of Lady Constance Lytton, though the latter "did not actually pen the letter" (many busy persons employ a secretary!), is admitted. The public memory is proverbially short-lived, of course; but do the gentle hypocrites who have spilled so much ink in the effort

W. KIRKLAND, BOOT & SHOE SPECIALIST.

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to proclaim to the world their righteous indignation at such feminine duplicity imagine that the memory of the last General Election and its repetition of echoes—in the form of libel actions, &c.—have quite faded from our mind? But we strongly suspect that the real reason for our politicians' fury is Lady Selborne's chivalrous action in writing to exonerate Lady Constance Lytton from all responsibility in connection with the original letter, when she found it was made the subject of adverse criticism. It is interesting to reflect that Lady Selborne's little admission has advertised the existence of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association more than the total aggregate of meetings hitherto held by that Society.

Militant Men.

Mr. Joseph Clayton, hon. secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, has written to the Press Association as follows:—

As Mr. Winston Churchill has stated that a men's deputation to the Prime Minister, similar to that of the Women's Social and Political Union, would be dispersed by charges of the police and by police truncheons, and would take to its heels, it has been decided to send a deputation of men from the Men's League for Women's Suffrage on Wednesday afternoon next to the Prime Minister in order to test Mr. Churchill's statement. The deputation will consist of medical men, clergymen, Army and Navy officers, lawyers, journalists, and business men, and will convey a resolution to Mr. Asquith.

Bravo, Men's League! This is true chivalry, and of a kind understood by Suffragists. We have always declared it to be our firm conviction that such would come into existence only with the assertion by women of their own complete independence.

Women in Germany.

From Berlin and from Vienna we receive news that the women's movement is in full march. Throughout Austria large demonstrations have been held. In Vienna no less than 4,000 women came together. After the speeches they marched down the Ringstrasse to the Rathaus, before which (oh! shades of stately Westminster) they sang the female franchise song. No arrests! All in perfect order. In Berlin and its suburbs, meanwhile, more than forty meetings were held. Their object was to enable women to assert their rights to their proper position in the world.

Good News From Norway.

A short time ago we were rejoiced to hear that the women of Norway had obtained rights of representation. We now hear that for the first time a woman has taken her place in the Norwegian Parliament. It is true she is at present an understudy. In Norway it is the custom for every constituency to elect a second candidate, so that in case of absence of the first the constituency may always be represented. What is of importance to us is the President's message. Welcoming Miss Anna Rogstad, he said: "The day would be a memorable one in the history of their country; he could not help thinking that this great step forward was calculated to increase the honour and esteem in which the country was held, and to prove advantageous to its political development."

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By Kind Permission.

On two occasions lately the Home Secretary has been asked to order an inquiry into the conduct of the police. The first was that of the South Wales strike riots; the second was that of the women's deputations in November. On both occasions he expressed perfect satisfaction with the police methods, and refused inquiry. The report made by General Macready of some of the sufferings in South Wales throws light into the dark and mysterious byways of the Ministerial mind. It would appear that we have all been mistaken about the functions of those whom we had looked upon as protectors of the peace. They are merely protectors of property.

One fact which has struck General Macready is "that the mine managers are looked upon by the local police as having a sort of authority over them." Again, "the mine managers pay the extra police who are employed in the collieries, and in normal times are at their beck and call." A mine manager who was told that certain men must be withdrawn from the district answered, "I had made a special requisition for their services, and they were employees of mine as long as I wished."

Masculine Hypocrisy.

Lady Selborne's action in "borrowing the name" of her friend, Lady Constance Lytton, in a letter to *The Times*, has caused quite a flutter in the masculine dove-cote. One particularly virtuous politician—a member of the party now in office—is to ask a question in the House of Commons with regard to its legality, so great is his wrath that a mere woman should have presumed to have poached the very tiniest game on the preserves hitherto sacred to the male politician. That Lady Selborne merely stated well-known facts in her epistle, and that she acted with the full approval of Lady Constance Lytton, though the latter "did not actually pen the letter" (many busy persons employ a secretary!), is admitted. The public memory is proverbially short-lived, of course; but do the gentle hypocrites who have spilled so much ink in the effort

to proclaim to the world their righteous indignation at such feminine duplicity imagine that the memory of the last General Election and its repetition of echoes—in the form of libel actions, &c.—have quite faded from our mind? But we strongly suspect that the real reason for our politicians' fury is Lady Selborne's chivalrous action in writing to exonerate Lady Constance Lytton from all responsibility in connection with the original letter, when she found it was made the subject of adverse criticism. It is interesting to reflect that Lady Selborne's little admission has advertised the existence of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association more than the total aggregate of meetings hitherto held by that Society.

Militant Men.

Mr. Joseph Clayton, hon. secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, has written to the Press Association as follows:—

As Mr. Winston Churchill has stated that a men's deputation to the Prime Minister, similar to that of the Women's Social and Political Union, would be dispersed by charges of the police and by police truncheons, and would take to its heels, it has been decided to send a deputation of men from the Men's League for Women's Suffrage on Wednesday afternoon next to the Prime Minister in order to test Mr. Churchill's statement. The deputation will consist of medical men, clergymen, Army and Navy officers, lawyers, journalists, and business men, and will convey a resolution to Mr. Asquith.

Bravo, Men's League! This is true chivalry, and of a kind understood by Suffragists. We have always declared it to be our firm conviction that such would come into existence only with the assertion by women of their own complete independence.

Women in Germany.

From Berlin and from Vienna we receive news that the women's movement is in full march. Throughout Austria large demonstrations have been held. In Vienna no less than 4,000 women came together. After the speeches they marched down the Ringstrasse to the Rathaus, before which (oh! shades of stately Westminster) they sang the female franchise song. No arrests! All in perfect order. In Berlin and its suburbs, meanwhile, more than forty meetings were held. Their object was to enable women to assert their rights to their proper position in the world.

Good News From Norway.

A short time ago we were rejoiced to hear that the women of Norway had obtained rights of representation. We now hear that for the first time a woman has taken her place in the Norwegian Parliament. It is true she is at present an understudy. In Norway it is the custom for every constituency to elect a second candidate, so that in case of absence of the first the constituency may always be represented. What is of importance to us is the President's message. Welcoming Miss Anna Rogstad, he said: "The day would be a memorable one in the history of their country; he could not help thinking that this great step forward was calculated to increase the honour and esteem in which the country was held, and to prove advantageous to its political development."

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AT HEADQUARTERS.

Trafalgar-square meeting, Saturday afternoon, April 1, is the chief item on our programme. Will all branch secretaries and every member in London do their utmost to bring a contingent to the Square? The speakers are risking a great deal on that occasion, but a crowded Square would show them that it is worth this risk.

Census Protest Week

This week is set apart for raising funds by the personal economies of our members and sympathisers. And after the close of the week we hope to hear from every member in the provinces, and in London, enclosing the fruits of her self-denial. In London every member is invited to help us to the best of her ability in securing a crowded Square. We rely confidently on the support of all for this great undertaking.

Caravan.

Until after Hackney Town Hall meeting Mrs. Despard's Caravan will be in North London; afterwards in the charge of Mrs. Tanner in South London. We hope that it will be made a meeting-place of members and sympathisers.

"At Homes."

No one who can possibly attend them should miss our Thursday afternoon reunions at Caxton Hall. Mr. Cameron Grant's lecture on the 23rd will be of unusual interest. Mr. Grant has spoken for us on a previous occasion, and those who heard him then are delighted to have this fresh opportunity of listening to him. The stewards, under Mrs. Fisher's guidance, do everything that is possible to make these Caxton Hall meetings attractive, and the result of their efforts is beyond praise; but what they would appreciate most is to see these meetings crowded. Sunday afternoon, March 26, is reserved for an "At Home," to which members can bring their friends and meet the N.E.C. members. We hope to see a great number at Robert-street on the 26th.

General.

Members are still busy holding indoor meetings, but with the advent of the Caravan our outdoor meetings will soon be in full swing, and good results of the winter's work will then be shown.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Tax Resistance in South Wales.

Mrs. Cleeves, who made such a determined stand last autumn against being taxed and unrepresented, and whose dogcart was seized and sold, is again defying the authorities.

Mrs. Cleeves, as a married woman, is not liable to pay income-tax, but, regardless of the Act of Parliament which clearly states this position, the local tax-collector has put in a bailiff in an endeavour to make Mrs. Cleeves pay taxes which she is not legally bound to do. Mrs. Cleeves handed the following statement to the official:—

I protest against your being here in possession, and I protest against any of the goods in this house being seized. Everything here belongs to me, and as a married woman I am not responsible for the payment of income-tax.

(When I offered to give the tax-collector Mr. Cleeves's address, he refused to take it.)

M. McLEOD CLEEVES.

The Tax Resistance League, as well as ourselves, is going to support Mrs. Cleeves in any action which it is deemed wise to take, and in the meantime both Leagues have written to the authorities at Somerset House and Mr. Lloyd George. The following letter was sent from the League:—

TO INLAND REVENUE OFFICE.

March 17, 1911.

SIR,—I have to request your immediate attention to the serious irregularity in the case of Mrs. Mary McLeod Cleeves, a member of this League. An assessment was made last year on Mr. Ed. A. Cleeves, but in defiance of the assessment Mrs. Cleeves has been receiving threatening demands, in her own name, for payment of the assessment. She has, of course,

refused to pay it as she is not liable, and no assessment or charge may legally be made on her.

The local officials, however, have now proceeded to trespass on her premises, commit damages, and take possession of her goods to recover a sum which they are forbidden to charge on her, and which will be paid by the person assessed as soon as he returns to this country, which may be at any time now. This person has always paid it, and never refused to discharge his legal obligations.

I may remind you that your department has said, in reply to a question asked on behalf of Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, that the Crown cannot seize the property of a married woman in order to satisfy the husband's debt to the Crown. The case of Mrs. Cleeves is absolutely identical with that of Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, of Clapton, London, who informed the persons who were sent to levy a distress on her property that she was not the person charged or liable, and that her goods could not be seized. On hearing this the persons immediately withdrew, and declined to proceed with the distress. She has not been molested since, but you will recall that after this incident you addressed a letter to her husband, Mr. Mark Wilks, in which you call his attention to the fact that he is the only person liable for all taxes, and that if he fails to pay, the Board's solicitor will take proceedings against him to make him pay. You have now been asking him to pay this money for upwards of a year.

I must ask that, as the above is clearly the proper legal procedure, it shall be adhered to in the case of Mrs. Cleeves also. Will you be good enough to instruct the local officials that the distress must be withdrawn, and that they must refrain from molesting Mrs. Cleeves or trespassing on her property?

I would add that when the assessment was increased last year, Mrs. Cleeves wished to raise an objection, but was quite properly informed that she could not be heard, as she had no *locus standi* in the matter, as she was not a person who could be charged under any circumstances, and therefore could have no grievance, but that Mr. Cleeves was the only person who could be recognised or listened to. It seems inexplicable that the officials should seize the property of a person whom they have declared to have no *locus standi* in the matter.

Requesting your immediate attention to the above facts, I am, yours faithfully,

Women's Freedom League,

1, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

We are determined to do our best to make the authorities abide by their own Acts of Parliament.

Dividends of Married Women.

All deductions from dividends paid on stock held by married women are illegal, and married women should write to the secretaries of the companies and request them to follow the procedure laid down by Parliament and to recover the income-tax from the husbands, and in future to send the dividend in full.

Steady persistence along the lines afforded by the inconsistencies in the law must end in drawing the attention of Parliament. Once that attention is gained, it will be comparatively easy to insist that the first alteration in the law must be to give representation where taxation is imposed.

An Absurd Position.

Though women are denied the badge of citizenship, the Government which is responsible for this has no hesitation in asking them to take part in teaching the duties of citizenship. Towards the end of this month the teachers in our schools will be called upon to give a "Census lesson," in order that the children in their turn may instruct their parents in filling up the schedules. Possibly some will take the opportunity to point out the anomaly by which both parents are expected to fulfil the duties of citizenship, yet only to their fathers is given any voice in making the laws or in spending public money.

Final Arrangements.

During this coming week arrangements will be made for all who have not yet been provided with a temporary home. Please send me names and addresses as soon as possible.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

PROTEST AT BRIGHTON.—Owing to the enormous pressure put upon our space we are unable to give details of the final stage of the proceedings taken against Mrs. Jones Williams for her refusal to pay taxes. The goods seized were sold at the public auction room. Before selling them the auctioneer allowed Mrs. How Martyn to make a short explanatory speech, and he himself added that it was an unpleasant duty he had to perform.

WOMEN AND THE CENSUS.

SPEECH BY LAURENCE HOUSMAN AT CAXTON HALL, MARCH 9.

The British people are credited with political instinct of an extraordinary kind for self-government, and alongside and inseparable from that the instinct for political revolt when self-government is denied. In looking back through history all advance has gone hand in hand with resistance to unjust laws in order to draw attention to injustice being perpetrated. This is the women's position; they are the direct political descendants of the men who suffered and made our British Constitution what it is. What is political instinct? It is the faculty for seeing in the political world the shortest, most economical means to the end; and so soon as revolt shows itself to be the directest means to the end, then political instinct declares for revolt. The history of our country shows that revolt and rebellion inevitably follow injustice. Women to-day are rebelling not against representative government, but against the refusal of representative government; not against law and order, but against outlawry and disorder—I say disorder because women's constitutional rights have fallen into disorder owing to lack of representation. Take, for instance, the Right to Petition. This is no longer important to men because they have the vote by which to effect legislation over the heads of women. Women have no voice in legislation, and the right of personal petition which is simply the means of advertising wrong and injustice, of bringing it to public notice, is being whittled away; this right has, indeed, been taken away from the women, over their heads, behind their backs, while they have no right to say anything at all in the matter. It is against legislation in which they have no voice that the women are going to rebel, and against the whittling away of old rights. This whittling away of women's constitutional rights is not going to stand still; and while this is going on are women to stand still?

You militant Suffragists are accused of being in a minority. Don't be afraid of being in a minority. All resistance to oppression has begun with minorities. No great causes have been brought within the plane of practical politics except by the fighting spirit of minorities. Take the Quakers. I was told by a Quaker, not long ago, that at one time there were more Quakers in our prisons than there are Quakers in England to-day. They were in a minority then; they are in a minority now; but the Quakers won their battle, the freedom for which they were prepared to suffer. You talk about the right of majorities. What is this right? Under our representative system it has no right whatever, unless it gives to the minority equal laws and equal privileges, to be ruled under the Constitution which enables those in the minority to obey laws which may not be to their liking without loss of self-respect. This is what representative Government does for us—it obtains our consent to laws we may be opposed to, that we may disapprove of, disagree with, because we know we have our right, our place in the Constitution, that our turn will come some day, and we do not lose self-respect in obeying those laws. Representative government secures the greatest possible amount of consent, and is influenced largely by the minority. Government without consent would require at least a three-quarters majority, while Government with consent need have but a bare majority because, however large the minority, it still holds its consent. This is the great moral value of modern representative government; it makes the greatest possible number willing to obey laws passed by the majority; that is the advantage over military government. Under our half-representative government, women are left out; and we have the Government to-day ignoring their claim to a voice in its affairs. Women are faced with a Government prepared to whittle away their rights, to deny their rights. The Government is very like an ostrich that buries

its head in the sand. Centuries of talking might not induce it to take its head out, and it would be blind to all the events around it; but if you gave it a swipe across its tail, or plucked some of its feathers, it would immediately alter its attitude. So we come to the Census Resistance as a means of administering a blow to the Government. In regard to this a professor for whom I have the greatest admiration and respect says that we are committing a crime against science. The last Census was taken during the Boer war when many tens of thousands of our men were outside this country; but scientists did not expect the Government to stop the war so that the men could be recalled and the Census taken! We are now fighting for the cause of Freedom, for something far more sacred even than science and the statistics of professors, which must give way in this instance. When mending a road, much of it has to be broken up, which is bad for the traffic, but is no crime. So with the Census resistance, women's action may be bad for this little bit of statistical science; but is no crime; indeed, it is a step forward for the improvement of political science. The Census records a great many crimes that are being perpetrated largely by the subjection of women, statistics regarding lunacy, illegitimacy, pauperism, disease, all increased by the subjection of women. But the Government is blind to the meaning of these records. By resisting the Census, we are committing an act of economic waste. Reformers have had to do that before now. Take, for instance, the act of America when fighting for its independence and trying to drive home to our Government the fact that taxation without representation was tyranny. Americans threw the tea into Boston Harbour as a protest against unjust taxation, and in doing so committed an act of economic waste which affected professors' tea-tables, and was technically a crime; but it was also an admirable act of political science. We are told that by spoiling the Census we are spoiling the chance of good legislation. Are we so very sure that the Census will benefit women's interests? Men may use the returns to push forward their ideas of legislation, which will be detrimental to women's interests. Mr. John Burns may go to those statistics to promote legislation preventing married women working in factories, without giving them any chance of a voice in this matter, which directly concerns them. And Mr. Lloyd George, the absconding shepherd of Woman Suffrage, may go to the Census for statistics in order to sway his colleagues to legislation of his own against the liberty of women. Winston Churchill (prolonged hisses) may go to these statistics in order to decide, without in any way consulting them, how the life and labour of shopgirls are to be regulated. You women have no safeguard whatever that the statistics will be applied to your benefit until you have the safeguard of the vote.

Greater than any crimes against science are the crimes being perpetrated against women to-day.

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and these will continue until women have a voice in your legislation. Take the price that woman pays for man's demand. The commercialism and militarism of the present age both demand a high birth-rate, and encourage early marriages. Cheap labour is needed in the market, cheap life is needed for powder and shot. Have you thought of the price that women pay for this? You talk of crime against science; yet you allow marriages to take place without a medical certificate of fitness. The result is diseased mothers and diseased children, and women have no redress, no protection by law. Women know these things and cry out for the enfranchisement of women and against a Government which possesses these records and applies them only to its own solution of pressing problems. If Americans were justified in throwing the tea into Boston Harbour, then ten thousand times are women justified in throwing the Census overboard! Their political instinct tells them that resistance of this nature is the shortest cut to the enfranchisement of women. At present Government is carried on against their consent, and laws are passed over their heads in which they have had no say. Women either have, or have not reached the age of political consent. If they have not reached it, they are not responsible for any wrong they may do; but if they have reached the age of consent, then they should be asked to take part in the Government of the country to which they belong. But they are not asked to do this, and they are resisting the Census. This Census resistance is going ahead, and the Government fears this resistance. If you get 1,000 to join in this movement, the Government will be less likely to proceed against you than if you had only a few; if you get 5,000, it is less likely still to take action. It fears a political protest on a large scale. We have already got thousands to resist. (Applause). It rests with you to help to make it tens of thousands. (Great applause.)

PRIZE COMPETITIONS TO INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION.

A prize of a framed and autographed photograph of Mrs. Despard will be awarded to the reader who obtains the largest number of new subscribers to THE VOTE during the three months ending Saturday, June 24. If every member of the League would obtain one new subscriber our circulation would become so large that we should shortly be enabled to double the size of our paper. Send in the names and addresses of new subscribers week by week, enclosing with each postal order for 3s. 3d. (subscription for six months) and your own name and address. Write the words "Circulation Department," on the top left-hand corner of the envelope.

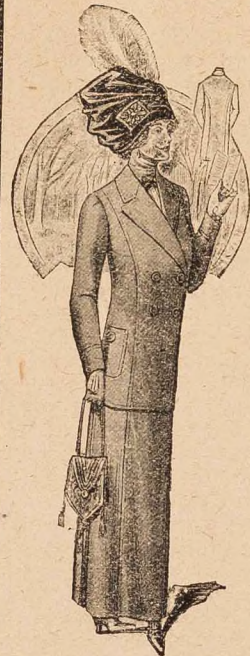
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To encourage our readers in supporting advertisers, we offer a first prize of 10s. or two fully-paid up shares in the Minerva Publishing Company, and a second prize of 6s. 6d., or a year's subscription to THE VOTE, post free, for the largest number of receipts for goods bought from advertisers in THE VOTE during the three months ending July 1. The result of the competition ending March 25 will be announced next week.

THE "W. F. L." HAT.

A charming hat for members of the Women's Freedom League has been specially designed by Mrs. Thomson-Price, and is now being produced by Louise, the well-known and world-famous firm of 266, Regent-street, London, W. The hat is made of fine black straw in the best quality, and has a smart cockade in the colours, green, white and gold. It is expected that there will be a very large demand for this becoming chapeau, especially as it is being sold at the moderate price of a guinea. Speakers and VOTE sellers, &c., should make a point of wearing the hat, and thus advertising the cause in a delightful way. We hope as many of our London members as possible will visit "Louise" this week and buy the pretty hat depicted in our advertising columns.

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A STATESMAN IN THE MAKING.*

Make a plan. Make a good plan and stick to it. Find out what life is about, and set yourself to do whatever you ought to do. . . . Don't wait for anyone to show you the way; nobody will. There isn't a way until you make one.

That is the text on which H. G. Wells's latest book is built up. It is the advice given by the shiftless, purposeless father who had made a muddle of his own life—and in illuminating moments recognised it—to his son. Disorder, muddle, in individual lives and in the State, due to want of definiteness in thinking, in acting, in purpose. That is the indictment the author brings against us, and he sets himself to prove it with merciless analysis and a wealth of exhaustive detail.

"The New Machiavelli" shows us a statesman in the making; a Statesman in the true sense of the word, as a conscious State-builder with a constructive plan; one who is afire with the passion to serve his generation, and to bring order out of chaos. Even in childhood Dick Remington felt resentment at the existing disorder of things; at the chaotic buildings and unfinished roads that led nowhere, at the litigious notice-boards and barbed-wire fencing, at the litter and dumpheaps of the unfinished London suburb where he lived. Throughout his schooldays and adolescence he found the same condition prevailing, the same want of purpose in education, in training, the same unfinished products in the mental as in the physical world. And always he dreamed of a time when he could begin his attack on this preposterous state of affairs.

Of course, politics was to be his magic weapon, and he chose the Liberal party as being the one that stood more definitely for constructive legislation and reform. Thereafter we are given the long account of his inevitable disappointments, his disillusion with that hub of selfish muddledom—the party system.

I would listen to a stormy sea of babblement, and try to extract some constructive intimations. Every now and then I got a whiff of politics. It was clear they were against the Lords—against plutocrats—against Cossington's newspapers—against the brewers. It was tremendously clear what they were against. The trouble was to find out what on earth they were for!

I understood why modern electioneering is more than half of it denunciation. Let us condemn, if possible, let us obstruct and deprive, but not let us do. There is no real appeal to the commonplace mind in "Let us do." That calls for the creative imagination, and few have been accustomed to respond to that call.

Then in a time of great heart-searching he thinks the situation out. Party politics have failed; what should be reformative legislation has proved grotesquely inadequate. That he comes to the conclusion of the oldest and wisest philosophers that all work that is to last, that is to lead triumphantly to great issues, whether it be of individuals or of the State, must proceed from within, outward, is inevitable.

I was still against muddles . . . but I had hunted them down now to their essential form. The jerry-built slums, the roads that went nowhere . . . the heaps of dump were only the outward appearances whose ultimate realities were jerry-built conclusions, hasty purposes, aimless habits of thought, and imbecile bars and prohibitions in the thoughts and souls of men. How are we through politics to get at that confusion?

We want to invigorate and reinvigorate education. . . . We want to make the best and finest thought accessible to everyone. . . . Love and fine thinking—the more love the more fine thinking the better for man; the less the worse.

These are to be his weapons in the future and all his efforts are to be diverted into the channels that most directly affect public habits of thought—for as a nation thinketh, so is it.

But Remington's career as a politician is arrested midway by the imperative claim of sex. Mr. Wells tilts a fierce lance against the conventional, hypocritical secrecy that hedges this question round from the young—men and women alike.

Our generation's grimy with hypocrisy. I came to the most beautiful things in life like a Peeping Tom of Coventry. I was never given a light, never given a touch of manhood by all this dingy, furtive, canting, humbugging, English world.

* "The New Machiavelli." By H. G. Wells. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, Vigo-street.)

Indeed, the whole question of woman's false position is strongly treated, and will prove of vital interest to the awakened women of to-day. The author is a strong feminist. He goes farther than most in his belief in women's right to lead free, untrammelled lives.

I want this coddling and browbeating of women to cease. I want to see them citizens with a marriage law framed for their protection and the good of the race, and not for men's satisfactions. I want to see them bearing and rearing good children in the State as a generously-rewarded public duty and service, choosing their husbands freely and discerningly, and in no way enslaved by or subordinated to the men they have chosen.

Mr. Wells's attitude towards the militant Suffrage movement seems to have undergone some modification since the publication of "Ann Veronica," with its caustic comments. There is a sub-chapter that will prove specially interesting to the readers of THE VOTE, for it deals entirely with the famous picketing of the House of Commons by the Women's Freedom League. For this protest the author has nothing but praise.

Day and night, and all through the long nights of the Budget sittings, at all the piers of the gates of New Palace Yard and at St. Stephen's Porch stood women pickets. . . . They were women of all sorts, though, of course, the independent worker class predominated. . . . The supply never ceased. I had a mortal fear that somehow the supply might halt or cease. I found that continual siege of the Legislature extraordinarily impressive. . . . I thought of the appeal that must be going through the country summoning the women from countless scattered homes, rooms, colleges, to Westminster.

This is a book that will live, for Mr. Wells has had the courage to speak out frankly and honestly on matters that are usually ignored or treated from a false and degrading point of view. He recognises, too, that statecraft, the building up of a great and prosperous nation, is not a male monopoly, but woman's intimate concern, and he rejoices, as a sign of great promise for the future of the race, that woman herself is fully awake to this fact, and is determined to brook no further denial of her rightful place in the community. M. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CONTEST OF THE NATIONS. By W. TRAFFORD-TAUNTON. (London: Milner and Co. 3d.)
- BRITANNIA POEMS. By HEDLEY VICARS STOREY. (Oxford: Shelley Book Agency, 3s. 6d. net.)
- LYSISTRATA. By LAURENCE HOUSMAN. (The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross-road, W.C. 1s. net cloth; 6d. net paper.)
- MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. By CECIL CHAPMAN. (London: David Nutt, 57-59, Long Acre. 2s. net.)
- CONTRASTS—POEMS OF POVERTY. By W. B. NORTHROP. (London: Frank Palmer. 6d. net.)

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

A public meeting was held by the above Society at the Queen's Hall, March 15, to support the Conciliation Committee's Women's Suffrage Bill, the second reading of which is fixed for May 5. Miss Frances Stirling was in the chair. Mrs. Fawcett, who was unable to be present, sent the following message from Algeria: "Our splendid luck in the ballot gives Mr. Asquith an opportunity this Session of redeeming the promise he gave on November 23 that he would afford facilities during this Parliament to the House of Commons for effectively proceeding with a Women's Suffrage Bill. Full Suffrage was given to the women of the Commonwealth of Australia in the Coronation year of King Edward. It will be singularly appropriate if the disability of sex is broken in the mother country in the Coronation year of King George."

Mrs. F. T. Swanwick moved a resolution calling upon the Government to put an end to the growing discontent amongst women by granting facilities for the passing of the Bill into law this Session. Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., chairman of the committee of Liberal Members in favour of Women's Suffrage, Sir John Rolleston, M.P., and Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., supported the resolution, which, when put to the meeting, was passed unanimously.

THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1911.

LEGISLATION IN A PANIC.

Amongst the many reasons urged by men-politicians against giving woman rights of citizenship, the one we hear oftenest is that, by nature and organisation she is unfit for political life. Her emotion blinding her reason, she cannot be expected, at critical moments, to act impartially and with due deliberation. She will rush into action; and then, in a calmer moment, she will repent and seek by another action, as unwise, to escape from the result of that which she has done. This, we are told, would bring into politics a vacillating element that must seriously hamper progress.

I could not help remembering these fears and forecasts, which in many forms and constantly are being brought before us, as I watched the political drama of the last few days. I am aware that the judgment-seat is a dangerous altitude. And yet, for a few moments, I risked it, whilst, imagining our rulers to be women and myself a man, I presumed to arraign them.

Some years ago, I said in imagination to our rulers, you, having been chosen by a majority of the electorate to govern the nation—chosen because, as seems evident, it was tired of war and expensive, unprofitable expenditure on war material—chosen because domestic peace and such reforms as would enable the country to develop her own resources freely, and to feed and house her children were ardently desired—you, having been thus chosen, have, in defiance of the declared will of those who elected you, entered upon an expenditure for defence and offence which transcends that of your predecessors, and which, with that necessary for certain social reforms promised and partially given, imposes a cruelly heavy burden upon the people. When called to account, your First Lord of the Admiralty, amid "icy silence in the House," rising to explain, admits erroneous estimates—admits a policy of concealment.

In that dream of mine I saw the following criticism, in what I had thought to be a Liberal organ: "If full information had been given throughout this unhappy business, it is not too much to say that millions of the tax-payers' money would have been saved with the expenditure of many more millions in the future." Meanwhile from the grave voice of the one whom I believe to be the most intellectual, perhaps the most patriotic member of the Government, I heard the following momentous utterances: "This new barbarism must, in the end, break down civilisation. Relief will be sought, not in war, but in internal revolution. When you make hunger by your taxation, then revolt will come."

To this, sitting apart, I listened amazed. What could it all mean? I have dim memories of a panic—a war scare. I remember at one of the meetings which immediately preceded the elections of January, 1910, being solemnly adjured by gentlemen, their voices vibrating with emotion—adjured by my patriotism to stand aside from the political arena, not to press forward claims to citizenship while the dread menace of invasion threatened our country. Germany and her schemes, Germany and her mighty instruments of destruction growing up rapidly, while we, the greatest maritime power in the world, sat idle; Germany endangering our Empire, cutting off our food supply, and finally, on account of our own stupid inertness, completely subjugating us! This was the sort of thing with which, in those days, the air was humming.

But surely, I said to the Cabinet, that could not affect you. You are of the strong—the logical sex. Alas! As the admissions of the First Lord prove, it appears that you also are human; that you can be swayed by emotion; that, legislating in a panic, you

can vote away millions, and then, regretting your haste, can draw back from your programme.

My dream ended. I am not a man—I am only a woman. My place is not the judgment-seat, but the home. Yet from that, my true sphere, as I am told, I have something to say about the politics of to-day.

Lightly, in these moments of panic; lightly, too, when it is a question of party interest and of conciliating the electorate, millions of the people's money are appropriated to the uses of a war caste, of an aristocratic caste of pensions for persons who have been already splendidly remunerated for any work they may have done. Millions do not count in the life of a rich nation like ours. What are they? Only the toil and sweat of human beings; only the stored-up labour of those who, from generation to generation are drawing from the earth her products; only a drawing away for ignoble use of the force which, if rightly employed, make the life of the people fuller and more abundant. "What of all that?" they say. "We have to keep our party together; we have to deal with great questions of foreign policy. When these are settled—"

It goes off into nothingness. We have heard it all again and again. But we, the women of the nation, who by our life-labour contribute to the making of those millions which you so carelessly squander, are beginning to stir in our age-long sleep and to ask strange questions. You send us to our homes. We are considering them. Some of us are startled and ashamed with what we see. You bid us think of our children. It is that we are doing. They are also yours. How, we ask, are they served by these war scares, by these nasty calculations, by this panic at the helm?

These, you have been saying, are womanly foibles which render us unfit for exercising citizen rights, save at the risk of danger to the State. Nay, to me it seems that you politicians want a little of our foresight and judgment. For, let us assure you, it is not legislation in a panic that we demand. The path has been too long and steep for that. We leave panic to our friends, the "antis." Yet we do not deny that we are in haste. For we are as those who, standing helplessly on the banks of a great torrent, see their beloved swept away and can do nothing to help them.

It is life—life that is so unspeakably precious to us—life of children, life of hard-pressed women, life of bewildered men that we see passing us on that torrent to which mere politicians pay so little heed, and can anyone wonder at our desire to end the strife between ourselves and our brothers, and to enter with them upon the task that is waiting for the modern world?

"Open ye the gates," said one of the old prophets, "that the righteous nation that keepeth the truth may enter in." It is that nation we are seeking to build up, and hence our urgency.

If politicians and statesmen cannot immediately understand our attitude, if they think we are drawing on our imagination, let me ask them to use their own, to try, just for one little moment, to imagine us in the judgment-seat and themselves amongst the critics. I wonder what they would say then to the whole of the big political game!

There is all the difference in the world between points of view—the mole, for instance, and the gardener; one above the surface and one below it; one destroying, the other preserving. Only by changing places for a moment can they ever understand one another. Which reminds me of a quaint epitaph in a country churchyard that I would fain bring before our statesmen and politicians—

Have mercy on me, O Lord God!
Here lie I, David Elginbrod—
As I would do were I Lord God,
And you were David Elginbrod.

C. DESPARD.

A QUAKERS' Suffrage Society has been started "from the more Quakerly point of view." The secretary is Miss Sophia Seeking, 6, Brookfield, West-hill, Highgate, N.



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58/6.

BRANCH NOTES.

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

Clapham.—F. A. UNDERWOOD, 31, Rush Hill-road, S.W.

Last Friday a meeting was held in the Lecture Room, Public Library, Battersea. Miss Hurst was in the chair, and Mrs. Gatty gave an extremely interesting and encouraging lecture on "Humanity's debt to Women." The influence of many great women was reviewed in the affairs of nations, in administration, in temperance, social and prison reform. The lecturer said that the woman's movement made for the solidarity of women, the chivalry of women to women, additional demands of women on men and on the State, and all this was for the betterment of the race. An appreciative discussion followed.

Finchley.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. TINKLER, "Cranford," Stanley-road, E. Finchley; Miss E. HEPWORTH, "Rastrick," Nether-street, N. Finchley.

On Friday, the 17th, a public Census meeting was held in the Stephens Memorial Hall, North Finchley. There was a good attendance. Mrs. Nevinson took the chair, and spoke on the injustice to women. Mrs. How Martyn followed and gave a short account of the Freedom League, and what it stood for, before starting to explain the Census scheme. Mr. Mitchell also spoke, and urged every man present to support the women in their protest. Questions were asked. Several people filled in Census forms as a result of the meeting. There was a good collection, and THE VOTE and other literature were sold. Our thanks are due to all who helped work for the meeting, and also to Miss Le Mesurier and Miss Madge Turner for helping us sandwich on the morning of the meeting. In the next issue of THE VOTE we will state time and place of our annual business meeting, and hope every member will attend.

Hackney.—Miss E. BUSBY, 48, Arlington-street, Islington, N.; Miss LE CROISSETTE, 23, Navarine-mansions, Dalston-lane, N.E.

The Hackney and Stamford Hill Branches Census meeting at Hackney Town Hall on Monday, March 27, is being preceded by a week of great activity. Open-air meetings are fixed for each evening, and it is hoped that some dinner-hour discourses may also be arranged. On Sunday there is to be a meeting in Victoria Park, 3 p.m. The presence of the W.F.L. Caravan in the district throughout the week will no doubt attract great attention, and prove a splendid advertisement. Will every

friend in or near this part of North London make a great effort to help us, either by canvassing, distributing bills, chalking or sandwiching? Any offer of assistance will be most gladly welcomed. The Suffrage Shop, where all information, and tickets, may be obtained, will be open each evening from 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. P. LE CROISSETTE.

Mid-London Branch (late Central).—Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing, W.

In the issue of March 11 our Hon. Secretary announced that as Census agent for this branch I was prepared to receive names of members intending to resist. I confidently expected to be inundated with correspondence, but up to the present my expectations have been disappointed. Surely it cannot be that the members are indifferent or still ignorant of the splendid chance fate has placed in their hands. I think no woman who neglects this opportunity will ever again dare to call herself a Suffragette. We cannot expect such a good thing as freedom to be wheeled to our front door, and politicians and the public on their knees entreating us to take it. As I am also Census Agent for Hampstead, will the members of that branch kindly send their names to me at 1, Robert-street, both those intending to resist and willing to assist at the Trafalgar-square Meeting on April 3.—MARIANNE C. HYDE.

Those members who braved the elements on the 15th inst., to attend the meeting at the Bijou Theatre, were amply rewarded by one of Mrs. Despard's characteristic and helpful speeches, dealing principally with the spiritual side of the Woman's Movement. Mrs. Tanner was in the chair. Miss Olive Terry gave us two delightful recitations, and a good collection was taken. On Wednesday, 29th inst., Mrs. Francis will address us on "Women and the Census" at the Bijou Theatre, and a Suffrage Play, "Peace with Honour," by Miss J. M. Harvey, will then be played for the first time, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig and the Author, with Miss Sidney Keith as stage manager. Tickets (1s. reserved, and 6d. unreserved) may be obtained at 1, Robert-street. Will any members willing to steward on this occasion communicate with Mrs. Tanner, 32, Wynne-road, Brixton. As Mrs. Hyde is our Branch Census Agent, those wishing for information on that subject must write to her at 1, Robert-street. E. G. T.

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

On Wednesday, March 15, a committee meeting was held at 28, Carson-road, Dulwich. A good number of members have decided to take part in the Census boycott, and an account of the protest as organised by our League has been sent to local papers.

Through the energetic endeavours of Mrs. Presbury, our VOTE organiser, several newsagents have been persuaded to show THE VOTE in their window, and to distribute advertisement bills to their customers. The street sales at the West Norwood pitch are improving.

As many of our members have friends who are in sympathy with us but have not yet joined the League, we hope that during special effort week everyone will endeavour to finish the work of conversion and obtain new members, as this will be one of the most effective ways of helping the cause. We want chalkers to advertise the Census Meeting in Trafalgar-square on Saturday, April 1. Will members willing to help please let me know as soon as possible?

Tottenham.—Miss SIMS, 3, Elmhurst-road, Bruce-grove, N. **Northern Heights.**—Miss MITCHELL, Merok, Great North-road, Highgate, N.

A drawing-room meeting was held on Tuesday, March 14, under the auspices of the above branches at 30, Lausanne-road, Hornsey, by kind invitation of Mrs. Eggett. Miss Neilans gave an address on the Census protest, and an account of militancy in the past, and showed that the attitude of passive resistance on the part of women was the most logical one at present. At the end of the speech questions were asked, and several promises made to evade the Census. A good collection was taken in aid of the Census Protest Fund. Mrs. Barrett very kindly sang "The Awakening."

Brighton and Hove.—Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham-place, Brighton; Miss HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

A drawing-room meeting was held by kind invitation of Miss Close at 48, Rutland-gardens, Hove, on Wednesday evening. The room was crowded, and there was a good sprinkling of Anti-s. Miss Hare presided and spoke on the Census, Miss White spoke on Woman's Sphere, and the Misses Bell sang and recited. A very pleasant social evening was spent on Saturday at 8, San Remo by the kind invitation of Miss Hare, whose "At Homes" are always interesting and delightful. The next meeting is a social evening on Saturday, March 25, at 7.30 p.m., to be held at 51, Buckingham-place, when Mrs. Francis will speak on Schuman, his life and works, with musical illustrations.

Uxbridge and District.—Hon. Secretary: Miss RALEIGH, 8, Park-road.

On Saturday evening last there was a good gathering at the Uxbridge Pump to hear Mr. Witte and Mr. Victor Duval. The speakers attacked the subject from the man's point of view to such good purpose that those present seemed very convinced of the justice of their arguments. It was in a very half-hearted manner that the stock objection, "dissension in the home," was brought forward, and women, who followed every point of

the reasoning, provided many a "hear hear," "that's right, mate," "that's true," to show their appreciation. Miss Gadsden will be the next speaker.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—Hon. Sec., Mrs. WHEATON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

On Saturday evening we held an "At Home" in honour of Mrs. Despard. The thanks of the Branch, and of the audience, are due to Mrs. Victor Blake, who recited and sang in a most pleasing style; to Miss Tremain, who sang "The Awakening" beautifully; and to Mr. Turner, for singing a martial song. Mr. Owen Turner very kindly acted as accompanist. Mrs. Despard spoke in her usual eloquent manner on the Census protest, and as a result some new members were made, and some new recruits to the evaders. We are now beginning to make definite plans for Census night, which we will announce as soon as complete. Will members please remember the Branch meeting on Thursday afternoon, March 22, at 3 o'clock, at 6, Clarence View, to discuss plans for special effort week? THE VOTE may always be obtained at 4, St. Paul's-road, Southsea.

Gt. Marlow, Bucks.—Hon. Sec., Miss HAYES, Drift.

A meeting was held on Friday, March 17, at Gt. Marlow. The speaker, Mrs. Vulliamy, advocated strongly the boycott of the Census. Some in the audience agreed to evade the Census. It is hoped others will follow their example. Mrs. Scott, of High Wycombe, took the chair, and gave a short speech on the necessity for tax resistance, which some in the district are much in favour of. A resolution was passed calling upon Sir Alfred Cripps, the Member for the constituency, to give his support to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, to confer votes upon qualified women. A deputation will be sent to him.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser:

MISS MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Manchester, Central.—Hon. Sec., Miss A. E. HORDEN, 89, Clitheroe-road, Longsight.

On Monday the Manchester Central Branch met at 89, Clitheroe-road, Longsight, when plans for Census night were discussed. Miss Plenderluth kindly promised to visit the members of the Branch who have not attended the meetings regularly. I should be very glad to have similar offers from other members; the area over which the Manchester Central Branch has to work is so wide that it is sometimes difficult to keep in touch with all. On Friday, by kind invitation of Mrs. Rose Hyland, a drawing-room meeting was held at Holly Bank, Victoria Park, when Mrs. Manning spoke on the Census protest. The meeting was most satisfactory, in so far that nearly all present promised to evade the Census. Three of those present had never attended a Suffrage meeting before, and one of these ladies will be with us on April 2. On Saturday, March 18, the Jumble Sale, held in the Old Garratt Ragged School, was a great success, and the Branch funds are the richer by £4 12s. 6d. Miss Horden is to be congratulated on the results of her untiring efforts during the past few weeks. On Friday, March 24, Dr. Elsie French is giving us a drawing-room meeting at which Miss Janet Heyes will be the speaker.

Eccles.

On Saturday, March 18, Miss Manning and Miss Heyes visited Census resistors, with a view to making arrangements for April 2. Our energetic treasurer, Miss Kipps, is organising schemes for helping the Branch funds, and would be glad of suggestions from the members. Miss Baines is making babies' bonnets, and would be glad of orders. Collecting boxes for Lenten efforts may be had from the treasurer. The following members have very kindly promised drawing-room meetings: Miss Ramsar, March 21; Mrs. Baxter, March 27; Mrs. Hyde, March 28. The secretary would be glad to hear of sympathisers who would like invitations to these meetings. On Tuesday last three members of the Eccles Branch sold sixty-eight copies of THE VOTE outside the meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Suffrage Society. Well done, Eccles!

Sale—Vote Agents, Mrs. HOBSON, 13, Northenden-road; Mrs. WALKER, 125, Washway-road.

On Monday, March 13, Mrs. O. M. Aldridge (secretary of the Manchester and Salford Women's Trades Union Council) spoke at the Temperance Rooms on the work of women's trades unions. Mrs. Gothard presided, and the evening proved one of the most interesting we have had this session. A good report appeared in *The Sale and Stretford Guardian*.

Urmston.

On Friday the debate held in the Wills' Room proved a great success. Mr. Allen made an excellent speech for the Anti-Suffrage side, but was ably opposed and defeated by Miss Neal. Mr. Beauland, Nurse Griffin and Miss Ethel Heyes took part in the discussion. The meeting was very well attended, and a good collection towards Census expenses taken. On Thursday Nurse Griffin and Mrs. Manning canvassed members for the protest.

The Census Protest.

On Thursday, at the annual meeting of the Men's League Meeting for Women's Suffrage, the question of the Census protest was discussed. Professor Alexander considered that the Census was intended for the good of the whole

community, and any attempt to falsify the returns would harm both men and women. Mr. Humphreys and Mr. Shaw supported the action of the militants in withholding information. Miss Manning, in supporting a resolution calling on the Government to give facilities to Sir George Kemp's Bill, said that even if the evasion of the Census only established, by historical proof, the fact that Government depends upon the goodwill of the governed, the efforts of the protesters would not have been wasted. For this very logical and effective protest several open houses are provided in Sale, Manchester, Eccles, and Urmston. Some of the active resistors are organising whist drives and dances for the night, others offer sleeping accommodation. In Eccles a Census breakfast is being arranged. Members wishing to evade should let me know whether they wish to attend one of the all-night social gatherings or want hospitality only.

Sheffield.—Hon. Sec., Miss BARNETT, 5, Victoria-flat, Glossop-road.

A general business meeting of the branch was held in the Nether Schools on Wednesday the 16th, when plans for Census resistance were discussed. As a result of the witty speech of Mr. Laurence Housman, in the Sheffield Lower Albert Hall, many more women have decided to resist. We have joined with the local branch of the W.S.P.U. for the purpose of an open-air demonstration in Poole-square, on the 25th of this month, when Miss Adela Pankhurst and Miss Neal (of Manchester) will be the principal speakers. Members are asked to bear in mind the Jumble Sale, which has been arranged for April 8, in the Co-operative Hall. As this is the time for spring cleaning gifts should be numerous, and our treasurer hopes to be able to add a substantial sum to her fund.

EAST ANGLIA.—Hon. Organiser: MISS ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road, Ipswich.

Ipswich.—Hon. Sec., Miss C. E. ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road.

Last Thursday we held a very successful "At Home" in the Old Museum Rooms. Mrs. Hossack was the hostess and received a goodly number of guests. She was cordially supported by many members who gave willing service. After some appropriate remarks from Mrs. Hossack, our Suffrage song "The Awakening" was beautifully sung by Miss Mayhew. Mrs. Nevinson, the speaker of the evening, dealt with the present position of women and the Census boycott. The discussion which followed proved she had struck hard. A good collection was taken, and an impetus given to the Census protest in this district.

I am making arrangements for an all-night party, and names are coming in well. Provision can be made for those who cannot stay up all night if they will send in their names with this condition attached. Several of our members are going to London to swell the ranks there and to escape local difficulties. I shall be glad of more help in working up the Census Boycott meeting, which is to be held in the Co-operative Hall on Thursday evening, March 30.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 302, SAUCHIEHALL-STREET.
Hon. Secretary: MISS MINA STEVEN.
Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.
Shop Manageress: MISS McARTHUR.
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 435 Douglas.

Glasgow.—302, Sauchiehall-street.
Hon. Sec.—MISS MINA B. STEVEN.

Please remember our Whist Drive on Friday evening, March 24, at 7.30 p.m., in the Suffrage Centre. Tickets price 2s. 6d. each. Also our next "At Home," in the Centre on Saturday evening, March 25, at 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss Jacob (Edinburgh). Our public meeting in Pollokshields Burgh Hall takes place on Thursday afternoon, March 30, at 3 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Despard and Miss Anna Munro. Admission free. Mrs. Despard will give a lecture on "Shelley" in the Centre on Thursday evening, March 30, at 8 p.m. Miss F. M. Stewart, B.A., in the chair. Tickets, 1s. each, to be had at the Centre or from District Conveners. A "Hard Up" social is to be held in the Centre on Saturday, April 8. All members and friends are invited to help us. A Jumble Sale has been arranged for in Parkhead on April 29. Contributions are requested in old clothes, &c. Please send a post card to Secretary, Suffrage Centre, if you have anything you wish to give, and a messenger or van will call for same.

Our next branch meeting will be held on Thursday, April 6, at 8 p.m., when it is hoped there will be a large turn out of members. Will members and friends please note that the Centre is open every Thursday till 8 p.m., and on Saturdays till 6 p.m.—K. MCA.

Edinburgh.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road.

Hon. Secretary, Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place.
Hon. Treasurer, Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street. Hon. Shop Secretary, Mrs. THOMSON, 30, Rosslyn-crescent.

Two very good meetings were held last week. On Tuesday we had the great pleasure of a visit from Miss Janet Steer and Miss Fellowes Robinson, who have been presenting *Just to Get Married* in the Theatre Royal here. Though we had very short notice, Miss Sidley had so thoroughly advertised the meeting by chalking that the shop was quite full.

Miss Steer, who was most enthusiastically received, made a charming little speech, and also gave a recitation. Many of our members have visited the play, and on Friday evening Miss Steer was presented with a bouquet in the colours. At the Tuesday meeting Miss Sidley dealt with the Census Boycott, and answered many questions. At the evening meeting on Wednesday Miss Sidley again spoke, and Parish Councillor J. Dan Easson, B.L., of the Men's League, very kindly undertook the task of answering the numerous questions. Members and friends who have not yet got tickets for the social meeting on March 29 are requested to call at the shop. "The Awakening" will be sung, and there are to be recitations and original Suffrage waxworks; and, best of all, Mrs. Despard is to speak. Miss Wood is in charge of the tea, Miss Simpson of the music, and Mrs. Bankhead and Miss Nannie Brown of the waxworks. The tickets cost only one shilling each.—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Women's Tax Resistance League.

On Thursday evening, March 16, a good public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Uxbridge. The chair was taken by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, who gave a most earnest and spirited address upon the fundamental basis of the Suffrage movement. Mrs. Kinton Parkes spoke on the principles of tax resistance, and gave a short resumé of the work being done by the society formed to put these principles into practice. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson made an urgent plea to the women of Uxbridge to boycott the Census, and gave most lucid and logical reasons why the women should refuse to be counted, and endeavoured to show the serious results which follow to women from legislation without their consent. This meeting was entirely given and arranged by Miss Raleigh, who is a member of the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, and also the "Women's Tax Resistance League."

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.

It has been decided by the Executive Committee that another May mission shall be held during the first week in May, and that the league shall organise a Church Congress Campaign in the autumn at Stoke-on-Trent, on much the same lines as last year at Cambridge. On April 29 the secretary goes to Ireland to inaugurate the Irish Church League at Dublin. Drawing-room meetings will take place on Friday, March 24, at 3 p.m. at The Chine, Winchmore-hill; speakers, Miss Gadsden and Rev. C. Hinscliff; on Thursday, March 30, 3.15 p.m., at Mrs. Shewell Cooper's, 8, Warwick-avenue, Paddington; speaker, Mrs. A. J. Webbe; and on Friday, March 31, at Mrs. Gray's, 34, Ladbroke-square, W.; speakers, Dr. Letitia Fairfield and Rev. C. Hinscliff. The remaining Lenten addresses by Rev. C. Hinscliff will be given as follows, at St. Mary's, Paddington-green, at 8.30 p.m.:—March 23, "The Poor"; March 30, "The Unfit"; April 6, "The Profligate." On April 4 there will be a league service at St. Mary's Church, Warwick; preacher, Ven. Archdeacon Escreet. The Rev. Claude Hinscliff will conduct a Quiet Day on Thursday in Passion Week, April 6, Holy Communion 7.30 and 8. Addresses 11 a.m., 1.15, 3 and 6 p.m.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Resolution proposed by Sir Edward Busk and carried *nem. con.*, March 16, 1911, Mr. Goldfinch Bate in the chair:—
"That the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage observe, with the greatest indignation, that the Home Secretary in a Parliamentary Paper has described the Women's Social and Political Union as a 'copious fountain of mendacity,' but has not attempted, even by a single quotation from the publications of that Union during the five years of its existence, to justify the serious charge of habitual falsehood. The Committee are well acquainted with the proceedings of the Union, and are sure that the charge is wholly unfounded, and they challenge the Home Secretary to substantiate it by definite quotations, or if he be unable to do so, to withdraw and apologise for the grave accusation he has made, and to explain how he came to make it without proper investigation."

Women Writers' Suffrage League.

A reception will be held at the Richelieu Palace Hotel, Oxford-street, on the afternoon of March 28, at 3.30 p.m., by the Women Writers' Suffrage League. Miss Cicely Hamilton will take the chair, and Mrs. Alec Tweedie, a newcomer to the ranks of the Suffragists, will receive the guests. The speakers include the Rt. Hon. the Earl Russell, and Miss C. Nina Boyle, who is President of the Women's Enfranchisement League at Johannesburg. Mr. Frank Witty has kindly consented to entertain the guests with some of his delightful song-parodies.

OURSELVES ALONE.

THE work that should to-day be wrought,
Defer not till to-morrow;
The help that should within be sought,
Scorn from without to borrow.
Old maxims these—yet stout and true—
They speak in trumpet tone,
To do at once what is to do,
And trust OURSELVES ALONE.

SLIABH CUILINN.

MADAME LOUISE



THE 'W.F.L.' HAT
Made by LOUISE,
266, REGENT STREET, W.

CAXTON HALL "AT HOME."

A large and interested audience assembled at last Thursday's "At Home" to hear Lady Stout on "The Vote in New Zealand" and Mrs. Despard on "Census Resistance." Mrs. Vulliamy, who was in the chair, said the fact that Suffragists welcomed speakers like Sir John Cockburn, who had but a short time since spoken for the W.F.L., and Lady Stout from countries where women were enfranchised proved that we have nothing to fear.

Lady Stout, on rising to speak, stated that she had been an enfranchised woman for seventeen years. In New Zealand there had never been any antagonism between men and women. They had had opposition to fight, but in New Zealand men were civilised and open to conviction. One of their most determined opponents, Mr. Leonard Williams, had prophesied deterioration to the race if women were enfranchised; but Lady Stout was pleased to say that votes for women had had a directly opposite effect. The women's vote had made the men realise their responsibility, and men and women had combined to bring about results beneficial to the entire population. Since New Zealand had emancipated its women sweating had been abolished. There were now no slums in New Zealand and no white slavery. The drink bill had been greatly diminished. New Zealand had the lowest death-rate and the lowest infant mortality in the world. It was also the only country in the world with an increasing birth-rate. Married women in New Zealand had now complete control of their own property and earnings, and the laws dealing with maintenance had also been regulated.

Mrs. Despard, referring to the plans made by the W.F.L. for "Census Week," said that the Census Boycott would be a great protest against women's exclusion from the legislature, and hoped it would be the last it would be necessary to make. They did not intend to belong to a nation which in fact and in act kept them out of its councils. The authorities appeared to be getting nervous about the Census; they were telling

people how to fill up the Census papers. They were particularly anxious that the women should put down their trades. Mrs. Despard believed that was dangerous; perhaps they were trying to find out how many women were "taking the bread out of the men's mouths"; and perhaps they wanted to find out how many married women were engaged in industrial labour. No doubt they intended to pile up statistics against the women so that they could carry through their own legislation. Mrs. Despard appealed to the audience to help forward the movement by sacrifice. She wanted them to think of nothing but the "Census Week." On April 1 the W.F.L. were going to finish up with a demonstration in Trafalgar-square. Perhaps the politicians might be frightened by that time, and try to stop it. The women should not mind that, and all should be there to make their protest.

OUR SHOPPING GUIDE.

The Realm Tea Company.

How refreshing is a cup of tea after a hard day's work, domestic or otherwise! The special China and Darjeeling blend sold by the Realm Tea Company is especially comforting after a day's campaigning. It has been sampled by THE VOTE staff, who can strongly recommend it. The medical profession speak very highly of this delicious beverage, which, as it contains a minimum of the injurious tannin present to a certain extent in all teas, is innocuous to the most delicate digestion.

Gardenia Restaurant.

The proprietors of this restaurant have very large and convenient rooms to let at reasonable prices. These rooms are particularly suitable for meetings, whist drives, &c.

H. Groves and Co., 24, Cranbourne-street, Leicester-square, W.C.

This firm, which is a constant advertiser in our paper (see cover), makes a speciality of second-hand gentlemen's clothes, and ladies' coats and skirts. The highest prices are offered for suitable goods—gentlemen's suits and navy serge costumes particularly—and members of the League anxious to buy or sell any of these garments are strongly advised to write or call to the above address.

Kingsley Hotel, Hart-street, Bloomsbury-square.
Thackeray Hotel, Great Russell-street.

Both these hotels, which are temperance and under the same management, are situated close together in one of the most central and healthiest districts of London. They are modern in all their arrangements, and the furnishing has been carried out with careful regard to comfort. The aim of the management has been to provide at moderate charges all the conveniences and advantages of the very large licensed hotels, such as electric lighting, fireproof floors, perfect sanitation, bathrooms on every floor, night porters, &c. Members and friends of the League who have stayed at these hotels have written to testify their appreciation of the comfort and service to be obtained at very moderate charges.

Syracuse Easy.

No woman who holds modern ideas with regard to the saving of labour will dream of dispensing with the washing machine known by this name, which is sold by William H. Lumsden and Co., 25, Red Lion-street, Holborn. It is the only machine which can do the whole washing from the roughest of clothes to the finest of lace without damage. The "Easy" has every improvement to the smallest detail. Being made from galvanised steel, the "Easy" cannot rust, and has none of the wooden tub troubles. It completely solves the problem of economical family washing, and lasts a generation. It is an investment that makes money by saving it. Every woman will be well advised to begin saving by buying this machine immediately.

"Colloa" (City of London Ladies' Outfitting Association).

In these days, as in Shakespeare's, "the apparel oft proclaims the man"; and, we might add, woman also.

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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44 inches wide, in 100 shades. 1s. 11d. per yard. Special value.

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A rich double-width all-silk fabric, in forty shades. 3s. 9d. per yard.

SATIN GRENADINE.

A new material for smart afternoon and evening wear, in newest colourings. 5s. 6d. per yard.

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FINE COLOURED SUITINGS.

A magnificent assortment, from 1s. 11d. per yard.

LATEST NOVELTIES

in fancy wool and silk and wool material, from 1s. 11d. per yard.

FACED CLOTHS AND SATIN CLOTHS

in all the newest shades and black, from 1s. 11d. per yard.

SMART TWEEDS

for country wear. Newest designs in English, Irish, and Scotch makes, from 1s. 11d. per yard.

FULL RANGE OF PATTERNS SENT POST FREE.

WILLIAM OWEN

WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

No one, at any rate, can afford to go ill-dressed, least of all the militant Suffragist, with whom it is a point of honour to disclaim in her own person the absurd statements still rife with regard to the appearance of the new woman. It is often asserted that members give so much to the Cause that they have very little to spend on dress. But those who support THE VOTE by advertising in it have goods to suit all purses. A really smart, well-tailored costume of the famous "Colloa" material may be had at the ridiculously low price of two guineas. We advise all members to pay a visit to the above establishment at an early date.

Harvard Institute of Vibration and Psycho-Therapeutics, Harvard-road, Isleworth, Middlesex.

A member of our staff speaks very highly of the work carried on at this Institute. The treatment is pleasing and penetrating, reaching the deep-seated organs and rousing them to their normal activity. It is a good tonic for excited nerves. The Wragg Vibrator cures rheumatism, sciatica, constipation, and other functional or nervous diseases.

H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford-street, W.

This establishment is noted for the cut and style of the costumes it turns out. An extremely well-built stylish coat and skirt may be had from the low price of three guineas.

HARD-UP SOCIAL.

The Actresses' Franchise League will give a series of entertainments, and Madame Ulica has kindly promised her services as palmist. The programme is of extraordinary interest, and the supper will be of wonderful variety. Donations of £1 each have been received from Miss Taylor, Miss McCarron, and Mr. Pott. Another 12s. would clear the expenses of the hall. Will anyone give this donation? As all the profits are to go to the funds of the League we rely on our members and friends to come in crowds to Holborn Hall (off Gray's Inn-road) Saturday evening, the 25th. F. A. U.

HOW TO HELP THE CAUSE. SPECIAL MESSAGES TO OUR READERS.

From the Editor.

From many friends and readers of THE VOTE I have had kindly response to my appeal for helpers; but if we are shortly to double our circulation and increase our space, our efforts must not slacken. Let me remind my friends that what we require are subscribers—those who will take one or several numbers of our organ weekly. We propose to publish fortnightly the names of those who have been successful in helping our circulation, and I should be much obliged if they will send us this information to our new address. We have taken an office at 1, Robert-street, Adelphi. Address Editor, THE VOTE, Minerva Publishing Company, Ltd. C. DESPARD.

From Miss Ethel Fennings ("Vote" Sales Organiser).

Now that our President, Mrs. Despard, has added to all her other splendid work the editorship of THE VOTE, I feel sure that members will be anxious to make her task as easy as possible by increasing the circulation of our paper. New subscribers can easily be gained by a little persuasion and tact, and every member of the W.F.L. ought to feel it her duty to get at least one new subscriber before April 1. An easy way of disposing of several copies a week is to always carry two or three about when travelling, shopping, visiting friends, &c. It is astonishing the number which can be sold thus, and I know one member who gets rid of about two dozen a week in this manner. More street sellers are wanted, and I shall be glad to see any who have even half an hour to spare.

THE Quakers, the one great religious body which puts women theoretically and practically on a level with men, has no need of divorce laws—because it has no need for divorce.

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Thurs., Mar. 23.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Mr. J. Cameron Grant, Mrs. How Martyn.
Hackney Downs Station, 8 p.m.—2 p.m., Poster Parade.
- Fri., Mar. 24.**—1, Robert-street, 2 p.m. National Executive Committee.
Queen's-road, Dalston, 8 p.m.
- Sat., Mar. 25.**—1, Robert-street, 11 a.m. National Executive Committee.
"Hard Up" Social, Holborn Town Hall, Gray's Inn-road (small), 6.30 p.m.
7.45 p.m., "Old Pump," Uxbridge. Miss Gadsden.
- Sun., Mar. 26.**—1, Robert-street—"At Home," 4 p.m.—Victoria Park, 3 p.m.
- Mon., Mar. 27.**—Census Meeting, Gayton Rooms, Harrow, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn and Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Huntsman.
Census Meeting.—Census Meeting, Hackney Town Hall, 7.30 p.m. *Chairman*: Mrs. Mustard. *Speakers*: Mrs. Despard, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Miss Alison Neilans.—Gayton Rooms, Harrow.
- Mon., Mar. 27-Sun., April 2.**—Census Protest Week.
- Wed., Mar. 29.**—Public Meeting 8½ p.m. at the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand, organised by Mid-London Branch. *Chair*: Miss Tite. *Speaker*: Mrs. Francis, on "Women and the Census," followed by a new Suffrage play by Miss J. M. Harvey, under the direction of Miss Craig. Tickets (reserved, 1s.; unreserved, 6d.) are available at 1, Robert-street.—Mrs. Crummeys, 78, Wakehurst-road, Clapham-common, 7 p.m. Mrs. Gatty.
- Thurs., Mar. 30.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches. 3.30 p.m. Dr. Haden Guest.
- Sat., April 1.**—TRAFALGAR SQUARE. MASS MEETING, 3 p.m. Votes for Women *versus* the Census. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Mustard, Miss Neilans, Miss I. Miller and others.
8 p.m., "Old Pump," Uxbridge. Miss Alison Neilans.
- POSTER PARADES.—Thursday, March 23, 2 p.m., 1, Robert-street; Friday, March 24, 2 p.m.; Monday, March 27, 2 p.m.; Tuesday, March 28, 11 p.m., Knightsbridge Tube Station; Wednesday, March 29, 2 p.m., High-street, Kensington; Thursday, March 30, 2 p.m., 1, Robert-street.

PROVINCES.

- BURY ST. EDMUNDS.
Fri., Mar. 31.—Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Henry Tippett.
- CHELTENHAM.
Thurs., Mar. 23.—7.30 p.m. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Neilans.
- IPSWICH.
Thurs., Mar. 23.—16, Arcade-street, 8 p.m. *Speaker*: Mrs. Manning Prentice.
- Thurs., Mar. 30.**—8 p.m., Co-operative Hall, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. How Martyn.
- MIDDLESBROUGH.
Tues., Mar. 28.—Census Meeting, Co-operative Hall. 7.45 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson.
- Sat., April 8.**—"Hard Up" Social, Suffrage Centre.
- Sat., April 29.**—Jumble Sale. Contributions to be sent to Centre.
- SWANSEA.
Tues., Mar. 28.—Jumble Sale, Ragged Schools, 6 p.m. Articles to be sent by 3 o'clock.
- SCOTLAND.
- GLASGOW.
Thurs., Mar. 23.—Dennistoun, 8 p.m. Miss Anna Munro.
- Fri., Mar. 24.**—Whist Drive, Suffrage Centre, 7-11 p.m. Tickets 2s. 6d.
- Sat., Mar. 25.**—"At Home," 3.30 p.m. Miss Jacobs, B.Sc.
- Thurs., Mar. 30.**—Pollokshields, Burgh Hall, 3 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss Anna Munro.—8 p.m., Lecture on "Shelley." Mrs. Despard. *Chair*: Miss F. M. Stewart, B.A.
- EDINBURGH.
Sat., Mar. 25.—Open-air meeting, Castle-terrace, 7.30 p.m. *Speaker*: Miss Sidley.
- Tues., Mar. 28.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 4 p.m.
- Wed., Mar. 29.**—Annual Social Meeting. *Speaker*: Mrs. Despard.—Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest-road. Social Meeting, 7 p.m. *Speaker*: Mrs. Despard. Music, recitations, waxworks. Tickets 1s. each.
- SWANSEA.
Tues., Mar. 28.—Jumble Sale, Ragged Schools, 6 o'clock.
- CARDIFF.
Sat., Mar. 25.—Jumble Sale.

WALES.

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.

Dear Madam,—I should like to confirm the testimony given in this week's VOTE as to the durability and comfort of the cashmere stockings supplied by the "Bon Marché," The Moor, Sheffield. I see the firm are advertising again in our paper, and I trust some of the readers will give these hose a trial. The make advertised, "Vi-dura," wears better than any stockings I have had at the price.—Yours faithfully,

SUSAN GALBRAITH BARNET.

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