

# THE VOTE

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

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ONE PENNY.

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## OUR POINT OF VIEW.

### Greetings.

WE greet our comrades with hope and courage at this season of joy and goodwill. To each and all we send our good wishes for the New Year, the year which we earnestly trust will see our first great battle won. We cannot do better than desire for all who are waging the woman's fight more of divine inspiration which is the true impulse of service in a noble Cause. Going through life day by day with eyes open, with hearts and hands ready, we cannot fail to see how much work needs to be done. Inspiration comes by contact with realities; when we know we must do. It is when we are impelled by the desire to do that we are more and more impressed by the need of the vote as the lever which not only opens but holds open the doors of service to our fellows. We cannot be always on the heights of ecstasy; disappointment and even despair are apt to grip and hinder, but let us remember the poet's words that

Tasks in hours of insight willed  
May be in hours of gloom fulfilled.

### Looking Backwards.

We are at the close of a momentous year. Looking backward, we may rejoice in the work accomplished for our Cause, and take heart of hope. Probably the most striking form in which Suffragists, taking the lead of the Women's Freedom League, protested against their unfranchised condition was the Census resistance. Their action called forth amused criticism, as well as jibe and sneer. The fact remains that no steps were taken to bring to book the women who, not counting in the eyes of the law as citizens, refused to be counted. Mr. John Burns found discretion the better part of valour and decided to ignore the uncounted. Victory remained with us. The great procession of June 17 was by far the most artistic and significant of the Coronation processions. It impressed the thousands of onlookers as a splendid demonstration of the solid front presented in our great fight: one army, many regiments; comrades all.

### Present Indignation.

The truce honourably entered into by the women with the Government on the ground of the Prime Minister's definite declaration to keep in the letter and in the spirit his promise to give full facilities for the Conciliation Bill next Session was honourably kept by them. The great ceremonial of the Coronation took place undisturbed; there was no outcry of "Votes for Women!" as the royal cortege moved on to Westminster. The Prime Minister was at ease. It was, however, the calm before the storm; the storm burst when Mr. Asquith announced the Government's intention to give votes to all men and to no women. We are indignant that the Prime Minister of a Liberal Government should dare to offer votes to all men and to no woman. We are indignant that he filched the splendid work done by women and utilised it for electoral reform for men. Mr. Asquith has never disguised his attitude; he is an Anti-Suffragist. He does not wish women to be enfranchised; his democracy only includes men as citizens; women do not, must not, count. The Prime Minister is the head of a divided Cabinet; he is not yet willing to bow to the desire of the majority of his colleagues; the minority rules and the Government Bill is to be Manhood Suffrage with women relegated to an amendment. We are justly indignant, but we are determined to turn the insult into victory.

### Looking Forward.

Even Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers must bow to public opinion, and our part is to make that pressure as strong as possible. We have Cabinet Ministers on our side and many Members of Parliament. We want more! To profess sympathy publicly is not enough; the help of such men on the platform is most valuable, and the new campaigners will find the value of the work the women have done; but it is in the House of Commons that their practical help is imperative. Their words entail responsibility; responsibility means voting for us when the division bell rings. From those who have pledged themselves to the Woman's Cause we want this further pledge. How can Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, or Mr. Lloyd George, after their recent declarations, be logical if they do not openly state their intention of voting against the Government Bill if women are excluded? This is how they can help us. We require it of them. By this alone will their sincerity be tested.

### Our Task.

To bring pressure to bear upon the Government in every possible way is our task. The report of our campaign at Govan among the men of the shipbuilding yards is most encouraging and significant; no need to ask them for money; they gave it! They were eager to hear, eager to help. The crisis brought upon us must rouse to consolidation of effort, to co-operation. It is not a time to sit idle and think all will be well. The New Year must see each one of us at work. Let us find out what we can best do; let this be our New Year's resolve: that we will do it. We are determined to show the anti-suffrage Prime Minister that he dare not insult the women of the land by passing a Manhood Suffrage Bill.

## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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### THE CHRISTMAS PRESENTS "AT HOME."

There was a true Christmas atmosphere about the Christmas Presents "At Home" at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, December 19. Goodwill was its dominant note. It sounded out in full tone from the Presents' Stall, betokening the willing service of many who gave and many who bought. Mrs. Drysdale and her helpers were kept busy, and the demand nearly outran the supply. The gifts in money also were most valuable additions to the financial success of this impromptu effort, and the League stands to gain about £30.

The goodwill of those who helped in other ways deserves the highest praise. The Suffrage Atelier, which is doing such excellent service to the Cause and to women, arranged with admirable forethought and effect to decorate the Council Chamber, in which the "At Home" took place, with the attractive banners they have made giving the names of the 118 Town Councils which have declared in favour of the enfranchisement of women. Such help, willingly given, involves not only goodwill but self-sacrifice, and we assure our friends of our sincere appreciation.

To our very generous helpers in the musical programme we tender special and grateful thanks. When such fine artistes are ready to give notable service, the Women's Freedom League may well rejoice in the goodwill thus testified. Miss Bessie Tyas has a beautiful soprano voice, clear and full, which she uses with knowledge and skill; her songs, "Down in the Forest," "A Captive Lark," and "April Morn," were heard with greatest pleasure. Miss Hilda Campbell, another able artiste, charmed everyone with her rendering of Hatton's fine, but exacting song, "The Eachantress," and with "It is good to be alive," showing quite contrasting powers. Miss Ethel Rayson, A.R.C.M., is an artiste of varied gifts; she is a brilliant pianist, as was proved by her rendering of Liszt's "Liebestraum" and a "Gavotte" by Bach; her recitation, showing how a Frenchman struggles with "English as She is Spoke," was a welcome and humorous item on the programme. To Miss Mary Pearson our thanks and praise are also warmly offered for her dramatic rendering of "Dagobert the Jester," in which comes the interlude of a song given with fine effect. Mr. Harry Jackson's singing was much enjoyed. Such goodwill is most encouraging to us, and we hope that all our friends will understand how much we appreciate it. Nor would we forget those who helped so well in less conspicuous, but most useful ways, serving tea and selling.

After tea Miss Nina Boyle, as Chairman, gave a welcoming speech in which she wished the League many happy returns of the day for, even when the vote was won, the League would find that its work was only beginning.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., who testified his goodwill by taking part in the proceedings, spoke of the real significance of the Woman's Movement which, he declared, was religion translated into daily life. Christmas was the festival of the Mother and the Child; when the mother and the child had won their true place in the nation, there would be cause for real rejoicing. Dealing with the political situation, he urged women to continue every possible effort to gain

the end in view. "Parliament will not move faster than you make it; keep up the pressure!" Cabinet Ministers must bow to the pressure of public opinion. It was "a mean thing" on the part of a Liberal Government to advocate more votes for men before enfranchising women. He urged that women in all spheres of life should stand together, and said that in his own constituency in the East-end a big demonstration would be held in January demanding equal franchise rights for men and women.

A demonstration of affectionate welcome greeted Mrs. Despard when she rose to speak. She thanked all friends for their generous help in making the "At Home" such a success. Christmas, she said, was a time for burying hatchets, and she wished to retract words that she had spoken with regard to the City Temple incident; she did not wish to withdraw her protest, but, thinking over it calmly, she felt that some of her words were unduly strong; she mentioned specially her quotation from her friend, Mr. J. Ramsey MacDonald, who, she had since heard by a side wind, himself feels that he spoke too strongly. There was more excuse for him than for her, as he saw all that took place. It is, however, that which goes on continually in present-day conditions which really degrades women, not these spontaneous outbursts.

She referred humorously to the anti-suffrage deputation to the Prime Minister, and added that the outlook for women's enfranchisement, strengthened by her impression of the Horticultural Hall meeting, warranted hope that 1912 would see a victory. For that reason militancy was held in reserve, but all workers should draw together and be ready to fight if an honourable peace were not granted. She concluded with an eloquent message of goodwill, love, and hope.

### A CALL TO ARMS.

Something like war we need,  
Without its stain.  
Something that stings, indeed,  
With noble pain.  
Something that lifts the brow  
Up to the sky;  
Something that tells us "Thou"  
Is more than "I."

Sometimes the mountain top  
We stoutly scale;  
Sometimes we half-way stop,  
Or lose the trail.  
Sometimes our hearts are there,  
Though low we tread;  
Sometimes we know not where  
Our path has led.

Some constant battle give  
Us all to do,  
So that we'll ever live  
Faithful and true,  
Some fight to nerve us all,  
Some wrong to right,  
Some trump to sound a call  
By day or night.

To keep our minds alert—  
Some star in view!  
Though we our lives assert,  
Yet humble too.  
Let some brave captain lead  
With honoured name;  
Something like war we need,  
Without its shame.

WM. C. KEAY.

NOTHING since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women.—Rev. Charles F. Aked, D.D.

### "A CRITICISM OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT."

A Criticism of the Woman Movement from the Psychological Standpoint. By S. H. Halford. Frankly and Fearlessly Expressed. (Northampton Press, London. One Penny).

The factors of human progress may be classified under two distinct heads, those which tend to the improvement of the social environment, on the one hand, and those which make for the improvement of the human stock or breed, on the other. Many workers for the amelioration of the average human lot incline to attend exclusively to factors of the one class or the other. Thus, the aim of the Socialist is to perfect the social environment, and that of the Eugenist is to improve the human breed. A small, but increasing school of sociologists contends that the common goal of the Socialist and the Eugenist—enduring human progress—can be attained only if each recognises that the other's work is a necessary complement to his own. Neither the environmental factor nor the selective factor, working in isolation, is competent to effect a lasting amelioration of the average human lot.

Many supporters of the Women's Movement believe that its success will powerfully reinforce both the main factors of human progress: that it will assist in the improvement of the social environment; and will favour the removal of certain influences which to-day are anti-Eugenist, tending to degrade the human stock. For these reasons, many Eugenists, and most Socialists, favour the emancipation of women. Mr. S. H. Halford (like Mr. Belfort Bax) is one of those rare Socialists who are anti-feminists, and who regard the attempt to put an end to masculine domination as a disastrous error. The main contentions of his pamphlet may be summarised as follows:

The two preliminary considerations are remarkable. (1) Generally speaking, many men are blindly devoted to women, and are confident that women's divine intuitions will infallibly lead her to correct conclusions in matters political and moral. (2) The advocates of the claims of women are habitually intolerant towards anyone who questions the wisdom of their proposals; they pursue a policy of suppression towards any argument that really tells against their side of the case.

These two contentions are not essential to Mr. Halford's main argument. I adduce them because they seem to throw an interesting light on the writer's general frame of mind. For the rest, I deny both statements categorically. (1) The Woman's Movement is largely an embodied protest against the contempt and distrust of woman on the part of the average male, so that the very existence and purpose of the Women's Movement controverts Mr. Halford's assertion as to the conventional masculine attitude. (2) Notwithstanding occasional intolerance, characteristic of isolated fanatics, the Woman's Movement has made its way, and can only make its way, through free discussion, by an exposition of the essential rightness and wisdom of Woman's Cause, and by an exposition of the advantages to the race that will ensue upon putting an end to sex-domination. The very arguments so often used against the Movement, that all authority ultimately rests on physical force, and that women, being physically weaker than men, must remain content to submit to men's authority, is an appeal to obsolete canons of tyranny and intolerance; the denial of that argument by the protagonists of the Woman's Movement involves the recognition that the authority of reason has superseded that of force; and it is impossible that a movement based on the supremacy of reason should habitually practise an intolerant suppression of adverse reasoning.

Let us pass to the writer's main contentions. They are these. (1) "To most men, women, as women, are an absolute necessity"; it is a "physiological lie that absolute continence is both healthy and possible to all men." (2) "The success of the Woman Movement would inevitably result in the accession to power in the legislature of a body of persons sexually neuter, and therefore antagonistic to the primary necessity of hu-

manity," because "the higher education of women produces in them a more or less complete extinction of the sexual instinct." (3) "This might not matter if a corresponding process of extinction (of the sexual instinct) were going on among the men. But this is not so; education has no effect in reducing the sexual instinct in the male." Mr. Halford does not draw his further inferences very clearly, but, as far as I understand him, the final outcome will be: (4) All the more intelligent and energetic women will revolt against marriage and motherhood; the perpetuation of the race will be left to the less intelligent and less energetic women, and racial deterioration will inevitably ensue. This racial disaster will be superadded to the perennial inconveniences to the males of Mr. Halford's imagination, for whose "necessities" there will not be nearly enough women willing to undertake sexual relations at all.

Now, I do not propose here to enter into a contro-

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versy with Mr. Halford regarding the elements of the physiology and psychology of sex, but a few words on the subject seem desirable. As regards men, the writer's assertions appear to me to need considerable qualification to enable them even to approximate to the truth. On a matter so important, and admittedly so disputable, however, I cannot content myself with merely opposing my own assertion to Mr. Halford's; and I will quote a really authoritative statement from one of the foremost German writers on the subject, Dr. Albert Moll, of whose work on "The Sex-Psychology of Children" I have just completed the English translation. He writes: "In the matter of sexual abstinence . . . the majority of physicians are to-day agreed upon the view that such abstinence does no harm; and that those, if any, whose health may be unfavourably influenced by sexual abstinence, constitute at most a very small minority." So much for Mr. Halford's views about men; while as regards women also I think his assertions are on the whole far more wrong than right.

But even if this were not so, even if we are forced to accept, either the continuance of the degradation of women (the continued infringement, by the position of women, of the first rule of all social morality, of Kant's fundamental moral postulate that every human being should be treated as an end in himself or herself, and that no man or woman should be treated as a mere means to the ends of another); or, as the only possible alternative, and as a result of the emancipation of women, the speedy deterioration and probable speedy extinction of the entire human race—better, I unhesitatingly assert, extinction, than the continued existence of a race unable to follow its own higher leadings! I would as willingly consent to the continued existence of the human race at the price of the persistence of chattel slavery, of feudal serfdom, or of capitalistic economic individualism, as I would accept the continued existence of that race at the price of the persistence of sex-domination! But apart

from the dubious character of much of the writer's sexual psychology, an analysis of the real bearings of his reasoning will suffice to show the fictitious character of his alleged alternatives.

Let us consider first the questions of "sex-antagonism" and "sex-neutrality." As regards the former, it is quite possible that something of the sort played a considerable part in the early days of the Suffrage Movement, and of the general movement for equal rights, equal duties, and equal opportunities for women. Though it is certainly not true of Mary Wollstonecraft herself that she was either sexually antagonistic or sexually neuter; the path of the pioneer was in her day, and even down to Victorian times, so difficult and so fiercely contested, that there was some risk that only those of a misandrist type would enter that path, or that the contempt and opposition they encountered would arouse sex-antagonism if it had not previously existed. But to-day these conditions no longer exist; the qualities of the hardy pioneer are not now requisite; and, indeed, "a

certain ordinariness" in all other respects is by no means incompatible in women with intense ardour for the emancipation of their sex. To assert, as Mr. Halford asserts, that the bulk of the women engaged in working for the cause of woman to-day, are sexually antagonistic to men, or sexually neuter, is simply to betray profound ignorance of the personnel of the modern Woman's Movement. There is as much—and as little—truth in the opposite extravagance, voiced by some of those who oppose the Movement on different grounds from Mr. Halford, that all or most of the women engaged in it are animated by a passion for "Free Love." These are among the contradictory assertions characteristic of opposition to the Woman's Movement!

What has led the writer to his conclusion that the higher education of woman produces a more or less complete extinction of the sexual instinct, and that the outcome of this is a revolt against marriage and motherhood? The matter is very simple. *There is a revolt against marriage and motherhood—on present conditions—and it is the result of education.* The story is an old one. Whenever in history a servile class has received education, a revolt has ensued against the condition of servility; and it is against the servile condition imposed on women by marriage and motherhood in our present society that educated women are in revolt to-day. It is, indeed, astonishing that any Socialist should fail to see that the Woman's Movement is a part of the same movement to which, when it takes the form of a revolt of male proletarians against the conditions imposed by economic individualism, he gives his emphatic approval.

I do not mean to imply that all, or perhaps even most, of the women engaged in this Movement, have thought out all the implications of the present marriage system, or all the possibilities in the way of its replacement by a better. But they find that to-day marriage and motherhood entail lifelong economic dependence upon a husband; and, with the natural and laudable desire of the educated individual for

economic independence, they seek some other means of livelihood. Education has not destroyed their sexual instinct, but has produced a repugnance to the subordination under which, in the average woman, that instinct can alone be satisfied to-day, and has provided them with a means of livelihood other than "the trade of marriage." But give the educated woman the possibility of following her sexual instinct, and of satisfying her desire for motherhood, under conditions different from those that obtain to-day—make motherhood an independent profession—and she will, in the vast majority of cases, as a normal human being, greatly prefer marriage and motherhood, with all its trials and difficulties, to single blessedness. Although, as before said, with many women the revolt against present conditions of marriage and motherhood is blind, this is not so as regards the thinkers of the Woman's Movement. Read Cicely Hamilton's "Marriage as a Trade," or Olive Schreiner's "Woman and Labour," and you will find the case stated clearly



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enough. I may refer, in conclusion, to a third woman-writer of this school, quoting for the purpose from a recently published pamphlet of my own.\*

In illustration of the third great cause of racial degeneration, the working of our marriage system in modern capitalist society (the fault lies, be it noted, with capitalism rather than with marriage), it will suffice to summarise the views of a talented German writer, whose work is unfortunately not yet available in English, Frau Grete Meisel-Hess.† The general result of the existing "sexual order," *i.e.*, of our marriage customs as they work under the capitalist system, is, she says, that the ablest and most energetic women, unwilling, on the one hand, to accept the economic dependence on man involved in marriage, and competent, on the other, to earn their own living, are, by our industrial system, condemned to celibacy. From this point of view, marriage selects the less fit women to be the mothers of the new generation. The same system selects as the fathers of the coming race, not the ablest, the strongest, the handsomest men, or those who excel in moral cultivation—but those who are "fittest" because they have been successful competitors (or because their ancestors have been successful competitors) in the arena of economic individualism. She goes on to speak of the prevalence of various forms of physical and moral degeneration; and adds that, in her opinion, this widespread degeneracy is the inevitable outcome of the cessation of sexual selection, of the fact that it is to-day impossible for a woman to choose freely from among those who seek her favour, the mate who appears to her the most desirable. The selective process whereby the less fit males will be excluded from parenthood can, she considers, be restored only by making women economically independent. Here, it will be noted, in the demand for the economic independence of women, we find a further common result of Socialist and of Eugenic thought. They combine, on this platform, to reinforce this elementary demand of the Woman's Movement.

Thus, it will be seen that, far from having to accept Mr. Halford's dismal vaticinations regarding the effects of the Woman's Movement, we may look to that Movement, not merely to restore harmony to our sex-relationships, and so directly and immediately to promote human happiness, but, in addition, to exert a favourable influence upon the working of both the great factors of human progress. The disappearance of sex-domination will bring to our aid, for the improvement of the social environment, the special aptitudes and the cultivated intelligence of the feminine half of humanity; and the economic independence of women will effect the removal of certain influences which, under the conditions that prevail to-day, unquestionably exercise an anti-Eugenic influence. M. EDEN PAUL.

#### THE FIGHT OF THE FLAX WORKERS.

In the cold and the rain a fight for a living wage is going on at the Bradford Flax Mills, near Manchester, which closely resembles the struggle in Bermondsey in the heat and dust of last summer. There is the same undaunted courage, involving great self-denial, in the face of daily increasing hardships. There is, too, the fine comradeship between men and women which counts for so much in gaining a victory.

In this case the men are also involved; their demand is simply a minimum weekly wage of 20s. for unskilled or semi-skilled work, and that in other cases the wage be brought up to the standard rate for the district. The women, according to a report to hand, "claim an advance equal to 2s. per week on present wages. This may possibly appear a large sum to the management, but it is a lamentably small sum when compared to the amount which would be necessary to bring the present low rates up to the level of a decent living wage."

The present position is that the management has not only refused to concede the demands, but has refused even to meet the workers' representatives to discuss the matter. For more than eight weeks the strike has gone on; there have been no "wobblers" among the strikers; there has been no change in the attitude of the management.

Sympathy for the strikers has taken the practical form of financial help, sent from many directions, but each week the need increases. Five shillings a week strike pay does not go far in meeting daily needs, but

\* M. Eden Paul, M.D., "Socialism and Eugenics." (National Labour Press, 1911. One Penny.)

† Grete Meisel-Hess, "Die Sexuelle Krise." (Jena, 1909.)

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the strikers are determined to hold out until a just settlement has been reached. Processions take place and in various ways the case is brought to the notice of the public. Miss Anna Munro, the valiant worker for the W.F.L., addressed the weekly meeting of strikers last Thursday, under the presidency of Mrs. Allridge, who is standing by the women in their struggle. Miss Munro describes her audience as "one of the most interested and intelligent it has ever been my lot to face; typical Lancashire women workers in shawls and clogs, but ready of spirit and loyal to one another."

#### GOVAN BY-ELECTION.

The success of the W.F.L. campaign at the Govan by-election was an absolute revelation, even to experienced workers, in enthusiasm and interest in the woman's cause. Meetings were held twice a day at the Centre and outside the principal ship-building yards. The attention and sympathy of the vast numbers of men working in the yards was very impressive; they would tolerate no interruptions and voluntarily subscribed 5s. or 6s. each night. One evening the Anti-Suffrage organiser and speaker had the W.F.L. pitch but tried in vain to get a hearing; the men seized hold of the wheels of his trap and trundled it out of the street. "We have turned him off, Miss, and want to hear you," they said, when Miss Neilans appeared. Definite pledges were given by Conservative voters, who did not wish to support the Liberal to spoil their voting cards by writing across them "Votes for Women." The great success of the campaign was largely increased by the steady stream of helpers from Glasgow, and special thanks must be given to Miss Gibson, the organiser, Miss Bain, Miss Semple, and Mrs. Wilson.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has cabled the following message to the Prime Minister:—

The National American Woman Suffrage Association protests against the introduction by the Government of a Manhood Suffrage Bill and urges the introduction of a full Suffrage Bill that shall include women.

ABERDEEN TRADES COUNCIL views with indignation the announcement by the Prime Minister that a Reform Bill extending the franchise for men only will be introduced next year, and decides to oppose by all means in its power any extension of the franchise which does not provide for political equality between the sexes.

## THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, December 30, 1911.

### PEACE WITH HONOUR.

There is no one who thinks and feels, who has tasted the culture of the age and lived its life, but must be aware that we are entering upon a period of momentous and, it may be, rapid change. Under our very eyes the "old order is passing, giving place to new." Old shibboleths are losing their power to charm; old customs and traditions and modes of thought are being thrown into the melting-pot. There are many who fear as they enter into the cloud; many who ask, in dismay, for the peace and security of the days that have gone. Specially does this seem to be the case of the Christmas season, with its beautiful story of peace and goodwill. This year, no doubt, will differ little from other years. We shall have generous rich, and grateful, humble poor, and present-giving and mutual good wishes and a general burying of hatchets, and it will be easy to persuade ourselves that we live in a comfortable and genial world.

This may be well. Christmas may be prophetic of the new era that, in pain and tribulation, is coming to birth. But prophecy is not fulfilment. It is well also that those who love truth no less than they love peace should ask themselves of what kind is the peace that they desire, and how it is to be reached.

Let us consider. Nothing in all Nature gives us a deeper impression of peace than a flock of sheep and lambs scattered, seeking their food, over green meadows on a soft, sunlit day in spring. Nothing is of a more awful stillness than the smooth curve of a cataract as it reaches the precipiced brink to break in sound and fury at its foot.

Analyse either of these and see how deceptive are appearances. The sheep and lambs have no life of their own. One by one they are taken from the green pastures to serve the necessities of a race of beings greater and subtler than they. Season after season they are sheared of their wool and sent out shivering to grow more. Of what value, then, is their peace to themselves? As for the cataract, its peace is but for a moment; in the next comes the awful leap into tumult.

The peace of the one is ignoble. The peace of the other is transient. Such as these is the peace of societies and nations to-day, and neither can satisfy the instinct of the true lover of reality. It is the rising-up of this long-buried instinct that causes all the trouble.

The patriot and the lover, looking out upon society, find it chock-full of the things that separate—superiorities first! Man over woman, class over class, race over race. These used as pedestals. "Because I am strong, because I hold the things whereby alone you can live," says superiority, "you shall obey and serve me. You shall not live your own life. Your life shall be mine." Submission next. It is so much easier and so much more sensible to take things lying down. That way peace and gross contentment lie. "But not honour and not reality," says the fierce lover of truth—the man or woman whom the world calls reckless. "Better warfare with all its seeming tragedy; better pain, better death than ignoble acceptance of a life *role* lower than that which is in us to achieve." It is significant of the lack of vision, to which much of society's injustice is due, that those in authority cannot see this. They go on treating the things that disturb them: the demand of women for independence, of industry for its proper meed of reward, of youth for its righteous opportunities, as fleeting interferences with a natural order; and women are cajoled, or threatened, or lectured; industry

is cheated by compromises; youth is inspected, and lessoned, and standardised; and the great mother, whom we call Nature, if she seeks to make her voice heard, is gagged as dangerous and revolutionary. Whereupon society has peace. What sort of peace? The peace of the flock of sheep, of the cataract curving to its fall, of the grave, "which hides all things beautiful and fair." A poet once thanked whatever Power might be for his "indomitable soul." Had it not been for that, which ever, unsuspected and unseen by the outer world, but known to the lords of destiny, is moving through the universe, the low peace of triumphant domination and craven submission might have reigned perpetually. We, the women of the new era, in this festival moment, thank the Powers that be—not material, but spiritual—for that indomitable will, through which we have been moved to strive, to resist, to rise in insurrection against a peace which is no peace.

We do not veil from ourselves that the forces arrayed against us are manifold and strong. There are many who offer to us counsels of despair; and some, we fear, listening, let discouragement grow upon them. One of our counsellors, to the surprise of many of us, found a medium the other day for his slander not of women only but of Humanity in *The Standard's* "Woman's Platform." Suffragists have annoyed him by their pertinacity, and he tells them that they have no right to make such demands. Like the sheep and lambs in sunlit meadows, they should enjoy the green pastures and rejoice to minister to the needs of the superior race. Analysing their demand, he says:—"They undertake to make women politically independent, which, if it means anything, amounts to a claim to be able to change the immutable principles of political economy."

We had imagined that political economy, which we presume means the management of the life of the nations, was subject to change. We were mistaken. It is an absolute science, whose immutable laws admit of no variation. Given our modern society, with its hideous contrasts, its horror, its pain, its heaped-up injustice, that surely is a counsel of despair. But worse follows. "They (the Suffragists) believe that they can, by law, alter human nature—that is, many of them will undertake to do away with immorality."

So, while the laws of political economy are immutable, human nature is tainted at its source! And we, the women, are to believe this on the word of our male counsellors. It is true that they do not always express themselves so clearly; but through the councils of despair the same note is heard. "You have to reckon with human nature. Don't dream of modifying it. It will remain what it is to the end of the chapter."

We know, indeed, that it is with human nature we have to deal; and yet we do not and will not despair. For human nature is no static thing cast in a solid mould and governed by an immutable science, which men call political economy. It has in it the seed of growth—the capacity for noble development. Human nature is dynamic. It moves; it changes; great forces act upon it, and reaction follows; old moulds are broken and new moulds are ready for the expanding life.

'Tis life of which our souls are scant,  
'Tis life, not death, for which we pant,  
More life and fuller that we want.

The peace of submission is, finally, the peace of death. In life, rightly used and truly regarded, and only in life, is to be found the freedom out of which harmony and honourable peace can grow.

For life we are striving, and in our strife there is hope. The year has nearly run its course. It will be remembered as a time of disappointment and apparent failure. It has brought to us differences and mistakes and heart-sickening delays; but none of these things shall make us fall back from the conflict in which we are engaged.

That conflict is reaching, as we believe, its final stage—that last bit of the journey, which is ever the most difficult to the traveller.

We meet it with sincerity and confidence. We wish

for peace," because on every side of us is that which demands our energy. We want to be set free for our work in the world; but until our citizenship is recognised, until we are allowed to take our true place in the nation, until peace with honour is achieved, we cannot rest.

This, then, is our Christmas message to our readers, and we give it with grateful thanks to those who have helped us in our difficult task.

Seek for peace; seek it with courage; seek it with wisdom; seek it with hope. For a peace thus sought and thus established will be stable—will make for the redemption of the world.

C. DESPARD.

### OUR HAPPY HOME.

CHARACTERS.

MISS VERREKER.

SYBIL EGERTON (*her niece*).

HARRY LEICESTER.

SIR JOSEPH WILMOT.

SCENE.—Drawing-room in *Acacia Villa, Hampstead*. Miss Belinda Verreker and her niece Sybil Egerton at afternoon tea. Both look discontented.

MISS VERREKER: What a long, long day this has been!

SYBIL (*stifling a yawn*): Eternal!

MISS VERREKER: My dear Sybil, I must request you not to speak in such an exaggerated way. You have a foolish habit of repeating what I say in such highly coloured words that positively I am ashamed of my own sentiments when I hear them from your lips.

SYBIL (*laughing*): Poor Aunt Linda; it is shameful. An echo is bad enough, but a distorted echo must be excruciating—just like looking at your face in a cheap looking-glass.

MISS VERREKER: I cannot imagine why girls of the present day cannot be contented with adjectives which their mothers and aunts found sufficiently expressive. Exaggeration, in my opinion, is the bane of the present generation. Those dreadful women who are shouting and clamouring for a vote magnify its importance absurdly. Why, to listen to them one would suppose that the salvation of the country depended upon the chance of their being able to swell the number of the voters at the next election.

SYBIL (*shocked*): Oh! did you really *listen* to them, Aunt Linda?

MISS VERREKER (*sharply*): No, I did not! I have merely read about them in *The Daily Mail*.

SYBIL: I went to a meeting once, you know. That was the time you were so angry, and declared I must never go again. I heard a very clever speaker, and he said the vote was like a peg to hang a hat upon, but that when you went out it was not the peg you put upon your head; it was the hat.

MISS VERREKER (*amazed*): A peg upon your head! What rubbish!—(*Sybil laughs mischievously*)—The vote, then, is merely the key to greater mischief. I do not want to hear any more about it. I would not for the world admit such dangerous notions into our happy home. Not that I am at all afraid that you would ever be won over, Sybil. Your father thought a woman should have no ideas of her own, except upon purely domestic matters, and your dear mother was a most womanly woman; so if heredity counts for anything—

SYBIL (*meekly*): Dear aunt, I would not vex you for the world!

MISS VERREKER (*rising*): I am glad you show such a proper spirit. If I had one of those shocking Suffragettes for a niece I would cut her off without a shilling.

SYBIL (*weeping bitterly*): I would not for the world bring discord into our happy home!

MISS VERREKER (*at the door*): I am going to take Toto for a little run in the Gardens. I am very anxious about him. His nose is so dry and burning. Will you come with me, Sybil?

SYBIL: I think not, thank you, Aunt Linda. I have a letter I ought to write. (*Exit Miss Verreker.*) Oh! how dreadfully bored I am; how sick of everything! One day exactly like another; no variation except Toto's ever-varying complaints! (*Door opens softly, head peeps round.*)

SYBIL (*joyfully*): Why, Harry! Where did you spring from?

HARRY: I've come up for the Demonstration.

SYBIL: What Demonstration?

HARRY: The Suffrage Demonstration, of course!

SYBIL: But surely, Harry, you are not mixing yourself up with those dreadful Suffragettes?

HARRY: Of course I am, and I am proud to be fighting for them. Did you think the men of this country were so lethargic that they would stand at ease whilst the women fought their battle all alone? Did you suppose that chivalry was quite extinct in the land, and that men had lost their natural love of fair play? Did you imagine that Englishmen would all preserve a craven silence whilst their sisters, wives and sweethearts were insulted, calumniated and reviled?

SYBIL: Why, Harry!

HARRY (*mockingly*): Never mind, Sybil. You can't help it, I suppose, if you are nothing but a butterfly born in a bower!

SYBIL (*incoherently*): I am not a butterfly, not a bit of a butterfly! And, of course, I cannot help it, because I cannot offend my aunt, and she simply hates the very name of Suffragette. Do you think I enjoy the dull life I lead here?

HARRY: Then cut the whole show and marry me! This is my third proposal, Sybil.

SYBIL: And pray what should we live upon? You know I am dependent upon my aunt, and she would cut me off without a shilling.

HARRY: What rot! Why, your aunt is a healthy, vigorous woman of forty, and she may live to be a hundred. Then you would be eighty, and what would be the use of a little money then? But I can't stop talking. I must be off; we have a meeting at eight o'clock, and Nora Kenny is going to speak. Such a pretty girl, and charming!

SYBIL: Pretty! Why, I thought they were all frights.

HARRY: Frights, indeed! It is the vapid, selfish, overdressed women who are frights in my opinion, because they look as empty-headed as they are. As for Nora, she is perfectly sweet.

SYBIL: I firmly believe you are in love with her.

HARRY (*doubtfully*): No, I don't think so.

SYBIL (*with decision*): I will come to this meeting, just for once. I must leave a message for my aunt. You can wait for me outside, Harry; I shall not be more than ten minutes. (*Exit together.*)

[*Enter Miss Verreker, carrying pet dog in her arms, and followed by elderly man.*]

MISS VERREKER (*speaking excitedly*): I do not know how to thank you enough! When I think that I might have lost my little darling, and have seen him crushed beneath that dreadful motor car! (*Her voice breaks, she shudders, and covers her eyes with her handkerchief for a moment, then looks at him anxiously.*) But I do hope your shoulder is not hurt?

SIR JOSEPH WILMOT: Not at all. Just aviolent push, nothing worse.

MISS VERREKER: But it knocked you down.

SIR JOSEPH: Yes, but I soon picked myself up again.

MISS VERREKER: You must have a glass of wine. I insist! (*Gets wine and cake, pours out a glass. Seats herself and comforts dog.*)

MISS VERREKER: Poor little mite! He is still trembling.

SIR JOSEPH: Ah! I see you have a very tender heart, and if you can feel so much for a little dog nearly crushed beneath a motor car, how your heart must bleed for all the toiling, suffering women who are crushed and battered by the great Industrial Machine.



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In the following shades:—pale blue; turquoise; mid pink; shrimp and salmon pink; moss green; light and mid mauve; light, royal, and dark purple; light gold; light, dark, and mid brown; fawn; putty; paeon; bronze; light and mid chartreuse; pale eau-de-nil; heliotrope; terra cotta; reseda; grey; tangerine; black; and a great many art and pastel shades.

**L**ADIES in every part of the Kingdom who know the style and quality of our goods will welcome this important announcement—for it means extraordinary opportunities for securing fashionable, high-grade articles at very substantially reduced prices.

We instance here a few of the many wonderful bargains:—

**Fur Coats.**

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MISS VERREKER: But I know so little.

SIR JOSEPH: Ah! that is the pity of it. Now, if I were the proud possessor of a picture palace I would show you scenes that would enlighten you considerably. You should see the women of Cradley Heath, the wretched girls who, for a miserable pittance, dance all day upon a pair of bellows, forging chains. You should see women drawing stoves in the white-lead works, their faces veiled to keep the poison from their blue-lined gums. You should see the fur-pullers, clothed in sacking, breathing an atmosphere thick with floating hair, and foul with the stench of skins. You should see wretched families, herded in one miserable room, and unhappy mothers in the slums, holding their starving babies at their breasts. But if the picture palaces showed you the nation's sores you would not go to look: you would all pass by on the other side.

MISS VERREKER: Yes, that is true, and I know that we seem callous and indifferent, enjoying our lives and sitting apart "on the hills like gods together, careless of mankind." But that is partly because we are so powerless. Even if we had a clear knowledge of all these evils, what could we do to prevent them?

SIR JOSEPH: No; there is little you can do until you have the vote.

MISS VERREKER: The vote! But surely you don't believe in those dreadful Suffragettes?

SIR JOSEPH: Yes; I have come up to London for the Demonstration.

MISS VERREKER: What Demonstration?

SIR JOSEPH: The Suffrage Demonstration, of course. MISS VERREKER: I am surprised! Nothing would induce me to countenance such shameless proceedings.

SIR JOSEPH: Well, I can assure you that even as regards their most militant and desperate plans, the case for the defence is very strong, and I know that an intellectual, enlightened woman like yourself is always determined to hear both sides of a question. (He pauses that this compliment may be digested, then continues persuasively.) You say that I have done you a little service. Now I am going to ask for a return. Come to the meeting this evening, and let me introduce you to the president. She will give you her sweet welcome, and you will hear two of our best speakers.

MISS VERREKER: I cannot refuse, Sir Joseph, since you ask me to come. I should have lost my darling Toto but for your courage and presence of mind. I warn you, however, that I shall never believe that a woman's fitting place is the platform or the polling-booth.

SIR JOSEPH: A woman's place is wherever there is work to be done and evils to be redressed. She is needed wherever her good influence may turn the scale, and wherever we require a woman's special knowledge of home, of children, of her sister women, and of men.

MISS VERREKER: Did you say of men!

SIR JOSEPH (smiling): Yes, for I fancy that you women know us even better than we know ourselves, just because you are the daughters, sisters, mothers, wives of men.

(Curtain.)

**EPILOGUE.**

(OUTSIDE OFFICES OF LEAGUE.—Sybil comes in between boards, followed by Harry Leicester, who regards her admiringly. Enter from opposite side Miss Verreker, carrying large flag.)

SYBIL (gasping): Aunt Linda!

MISS VERREKER: Sybil! My poor, poor child! What have they been doing to you?

SYBIL: Don't pity me, Aunt Linda. I was never in my life so proud of anything. Never again could I lead the vapid, useless life of a mere butterfly. (Looks at Harry, who claps his hands.) But you, Aunt Linda, what flag are you carrying?

MISS VERREKER: The Flag of Freedom, Sybil, the Banner of Rebellion, the Standard of Revolt! Yes,

thanks to the persuasions of a most enlightened man— (Sir Joseph appears at back and bows with his hand upon his heart)—who saved my Toto's valuable life at the peril of his own, I am proud to tell you I have now become a Member of the Freedom League.

(Curtain.)

EDITH M. BAKER.

**PARTY PRESS & PARTY POLITICIANS.**

Party newspapers and party politicians make an interesting and instructive study. Their horror of any offence outside the recognised lines of political propriety is amusing and, compared with their approval of, and participation in, infinitely greater offences, astounding. The general public shares with them this horror of the unusual. The history of Women's Suffrage is strewn with incidents that have outraged propriety and horrified political conventionality. The chief actors in many of these incidents did nothing morally wrong, but the things done were unusual, and public feeling was outraged in consequence.

The attempt to destroy the ballot papers at the Bermondsey election two years ago is one of the best known of such incidents. Its daring and novelty startled humdrum people, and the unfortunate accident to the presiding officer's eye infuriated them. Every day, at every General Election, more serious personal injury is done, and done deliberately, than was done by Mrs. Chapin unintentionally, but such injury, being of common every-election-day occurrence, causes little or no outcry. Mrs. Chapin's attempt was a novelty, resulting in a slight injury to an inoffensive man, and public feeling was outraged. The hubbub that it caused was tremendous. Some of the London newspapers made themselves ridiculous over it. Never was there such a potter for so trifling a cause. I verily believe that, had it not been for the accident, there would have been no outcry at all. Amusement would have qualified the indignation aroused by the action of the Suffragettes. As it was, the attempt to destroy the voting-papers was spoken of as an almost diabolical crime, and was described by some of the newspapers in such a way as to lead the public to believe that Mrs. Chapin had deliberately thrown vitriol at the presiding officer. Indeed, so sedulously was this malicious statement circulated, that there are still people who believe it. It has frequently been hurled at my head, and I learn from *The Standard*, that, at a meeting a short time ago, Miss Pankhurst was asked by a man in the audience whether she was a supporter of vitriol-throwers.

Some recent events have created nearly as great a commotion as did the Bermondsey incident. The public had hardly recovered from their excitement over the breaking of windows in the Strand and elsewhere, when they were plunged into paroxysms of indignation by hearing that the Prime Minister had been shouted down at a meeting in the City Temple. I am not going to defend either the breaking of windows or the shouting down of Cabinet Ministers. I object to both; but I protest that they are venial offences compared with those committed against Suffragists by some members of the present Cabinet, and with the lying and misrepresentation which are the daily record of many politicians and newspapers. Were window-breaking and Premier-baiting as common as falsehood and slander, or as disturbances at ordinary political meetings, they would be treated with equal indifference. Novelty is part of their offence. A man told me a few days ago that lying is a recognised necessity in politics—a custom of the trade—and that, as every politician lies, no one has a right to complain. He took it for granted and thought very little about it; but he was shocked at the shouting down of Mr. Asquith. There is not much to choose between the newspapers of the different parties. They view everything through party glasses, and, with a few honourable exceptions, bear false witness against their neighbours, and deliberately misrepresent the views of their opponents. Differing in most things, they have one characteristic in common—unscrupulous partisanship.

What they denounce in others they practise themselves. *The Daily News* and *The Daily Chronicle* are striking examples of this inconsistency. During the last two General Elections, their reports and comments were a direct encouragement to breaches of the peace and disturbance at Unionist meetings. The voice which annoys Unionist speakers, the Liberal wit who keeps up a running fire of irrelevant questions and insulting remarks, and the Radical stalwarts who attempt to break up the meetings of their opponents have their deeds recorded approvingly and sympathetically. When Conservatives do likewise there is a different tale to tell. The indignation of the two Radical newspapers knows no bounds. The interruption of Mr. Asquith at the City Temple is a case in point. I have not read *The Chronicle* on that event, but I have read *The Daily News*. Its impudence is colossal. Almost side by side with its account of the City Temple meeting was an account of the Domestic Servants' Protest Meeting at the Albert Hall. It was a noisy meeting. The speakers were interrupted, and, at times, could hardly be heard above the din. This did not shock *The Daily News*. The impression that its account left on my mind was that it rather approved of the interruptions than otherwise.

Seeing how it has condoned disturbances at Unionist and anti-Government meetings, I should simply have been amused had *The Daily News* confined itself to indignation at the treatment meted out to Mr. Asquith, or condemnation of the Women's Social and Political Union; but it has gone much beyond this. It has made false statements about that society. Its Parliamentary correspondent, the egregious "P. W. W.," amongst some other twaddle, says: "The paid organisation for breaking up Liberal propaganda is comparable with the Insurance Protest League at the Albert Hall, where the audience was a magnificent object-lesson of what would happen if the suffrage was limited, as desired by the militants. The best way to kill this vitriolic anti-Liberalism will be to call in the working-man's wife, whose vote will make short work of the Suffragettes."

"P. W. W.'s" suggestion of "a paid organisation

Marie  
Rochford,

ARTIST IN HATS.



"The  
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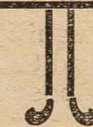
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| clothing        | Tapestries         |
| Babylinen       | Carpets            |
| Skirts          | Linoleum           |
| Children's      | Bedsteads          |
| Dresses         | Bedding            |
| Hosiery         | Cutlery            |
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WILLIAM OWEN, Ltd., Westbourne Grove, London, W.

for breaking up Liberal propaganda" is absurd and contemptible; his statement that the militants desire a limited franchise is untrue. The Women's Social and Political Union, like the other Suffrage Societies, has consistently demanded the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men, and now insists that whatever qualification may entitle men to the vote under any Franchise Bill shall also apply to women. I cannot think that either "P. W. W." or the editor of *The Daily News* is unaware of this. Both are professed supporters of Women's Suffrage, and, I believe, have a sort of sneaking friendly feeling for it. To attack a prominent Suffrage society may be legitimate, and to help the Liberal Party praiseworthy, but to use such means is dishonourable and unworthy of a great newspaper.

But is *The Daily News* a great newspaper? It was once, and so was *The Daily Chronicle*. *The Chronicle*, if always too much of a partisan, was, at one time, broad in its outlook and generous in its treatment of opponents. It was Liberal in the best sense of the word. *The Daily News* was different. Its narrow and uncharitable sectarianism repelled me, but I admired the principles it professed, and respected it for its splendid stand for national purity. Partisanship has ruined them both. Their glory is dimmed. They have fallen from their high estate. They have sunk to the level of *The Express* and *The Daily Mail*.

Dishonest and bitter partisanship is one of the soul-destroying consequences of our unfair franchise laws. The exaggeration of minor offences and the minimising of great moral wrongs is another. The advent of women as voters will, I believe, do much to rectify this unwholesome state of affairs. Falsehood and wilful misrepresentation will cease to be considered lesser offences than mere breaches of police regulations or interference with public convenience.

J. Y. KENNEDY.

**MRS. DESPARD IN MANCHESTER.**

A successful and enthusiastic meeting was held at the Milton Hall on Monday, at which Professor Findlay took the chair. He assured the audience of his keen sympathy with the woman's movement, and full appreciation of its aims. Mrs. Despard spoke on the political situation, and insisted that the immediate work to be done was to see that the woman's amendment to the Reform Bill should be passed, and that then Mr. Asquith redeemed his pledge to incorporate it in the Government Bill. The Prime Minister, as shown by his reply to the "anti" deputation, was beginning to find that women must be satisfied, and they were not likely to be satisfied by a referendum of men only. From the words of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George, whom she believed to be sincere, she augured a realisation of the enfranchisement of women next year, but it was still necessary to continue earnest and practical efforts to ensure the victory. Miss Janet Heyes dealt ably and clearly with the position of women in the National Union of Teachers. She showed that the Union was really a political organisation, and maintained that it was shirking its duty so long as it did not claim equality of men and women in the State, as in the Union. Miss Anna Munro also spoke.

**ITEMS OF INTEREST.**

From Chester we hear that the cake and candy sale, which developed into a provision sale, was a great success, resulting in a clear gain of £4, and that the unexpected presence of Mrs. Despard was a great joy to all.

Mrs. W. H. Nevinson and Mrs. Cobden Unwin aroused great interest in the woman's movement at Midhurst. Mrs. Nevinson spoke on "Woman and Present-Day Politics," and showed the need for women in all departments of public life.

Swansea had celebrated the festive season by a most successful dramatic and musical entertainment at the College, where, by the kindness of the Principal and Mrs. Salmon, the room and scenery were given free of charge. Waxworks, arranged by Miss Nancy Griffith-Jones, were most delightfully amusing, and Miss Hamilton's play, *The Pot and the Kettle*, was very successfully performed for the first time by Mr. and Mrs. Seyler, Mr. and Miss Hutton, and Miss Olsson. Our friends recommend this excellent play as splendid suffrage propaganda. Others might well follow Swansea's example.

Mrs. GORDON, whose little daughter appears on p. 112 as a successful "VOTE" seller, has recently gained the certificate of Sanitary Science (Liverpool University), and the Certificate of the Central Midwives' Board; she has obtained an appointment as School Nurse.

**OUR OPEN COLUMN.  
EVOLUTION AND THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM  
LEAGUE.**

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

DEAR MADAM,—Is it the startling success of the National Union which has been accompanied by men members during its forty years' wandering in the wilderness which inspires W.F.L. women to emulation? Or is it a base desire to shift their burden and get the work done for them? I am moved, like Silas Wegg, to drop into poetry and to quote the lines beginning "Hereditary bonds—men!"

To be really free, it is indeed we ourselves who must strike the blow. To enlist men at this juncture otherwise than in their own voluntarily formed leagues and unions, is to confess failure and ineptitude. And there is a highly popular and proven proverb in the Colonies which warns travellers of the folly of "swapping horses when crossing a stream." This, surely, is no time for fancy readjustments of our position or sentimental alterations of our scheme of work.

No one is in a position to say that the change involved will make for greater efficiency, however socially pleasant the prospect may seem. And should the men whom we would wish to see become members prove shy, and those who availed themselves of the new privileges not the class who would confer an additional standing advantage (moral or mental) or efficiency on the W.F.L., the prestige of that body would suffer. I would beg the W.F.L. not to tempt Providence, nor to approach a question of this sort in a spirit of sentiment or enthusiasm, but to stick to their own work and do it themselves. When we have won equality it will be time enough to offer it.—Faithfully yours,  
C. NINA BOYLE.

Dear Madam,—I heartily agree with the suggestion, commented upon by Miss Fairweather, in this week's issue "that men should be admitted to the Women's Freedom League." The women have no quarrel with men as individuals. Have they not fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons? But they fall foul of the system, the system that places the woman on a lower plane of life than the man, that accords to her a less wage for equal work, and that refuses recognition of the glorious battle cry, "No taxation without representation."

The man of thought and moral life is at one with women on these questions. He recognises his duty toward the sex for whom he is indebted from cradle to grave for his every requirement.

The moral man stands aghast at the spectacle of a Member of Parliament whose "head is bowed in shame" because a Prime Minister meets with an unfavourable reception at a

public meeting, but who turns his head aside at the pleading widow trying to support a family of little children on a starvation wage. The moral man viewing the streets crowded with young women forced into a life of vice because they are unable to obtain a living wage by honest labour, reading of the attempt to prevent by Act of Parliament women earning their own and children's bread—then, indeed, he bows his head with honest shame. We want the co-operation of such men to help to redress these most cruel wrongs, the man who, with a lofty disdain of the tricks of the politician, is prepared to fight side by side with his sister in the cause of justice and truth.—Yours faithfully,  
ANTONIA MOSER.

Southampton House, 217, High Holborn.  
(This correspondence will close next week with Mrs. Thomson-Price's reply.—Ed.)

**TO LABOUR.**

Shall you complain who feed the world?  
Who clothe the world?  
Who house the world?  
Shall you complain who are the world,  
Of what the world may do?  
As from this hour  
You use your power,  
The world must follow you.  
The world's life hangs on your right hand,  
Your strong right hand,  
Your skilled right hand;  
You hold the whole world in your hand—  
See to it what you do!  
Or dark or light,  
Or wrong or right,  
The world is made by you!  
Then rise as you'er rose before,  
Nor hoped before,  
Nor dared before,  
And show as you'er was shown before,  
The power that lies in you!  
Stand all as one  
Till right is done!  
Believe and dare and do!

—CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, in the New York "Evening Mail."

The third birthday party of the Actresses' Franchise League took place at the Criterion Restaurant on December 15. An excellent musical and dramatic entertainment was given by Madam Alice Esty, Miss Fanny Wentworth, Miss Christine Hawkes, Miss Grace Jean Crocker, Miss Marjorie Burke, and Mrs. Saba Raleigh.



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## FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

## LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO BE FREE.

**Thurs., Dec. 28.**—BRANCH MEETING at 149, Croydon-road, Anerley, 3 p.m.  
**Mon., Jan. 8.**—MID-LONDON BRANCH MEMBERS' MEETING, 1, Robert-street, 7 p.m.  
**Tues., Jan. 9.**—LONDON BRANCHES COUNCIL MEETING, 1, Robert-street, 7.30 p.m.  
**Fri., Jan. 12.**—WEEKLY "AT HOME," The Office, The Arcade, High-street, Croydon, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Sproson.  
**Sat., Jan. 13.**—Debate between Mrs. Sproson and Mrs. Stewart on Woman Suffrage, 8 p.m. (Hall to be announced next week.)

**Mon., Jan. 15.**—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, 1, Robert Street.

**Tues., Jan. 16.**—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, 1, Robert-street.

## SCOTLAND.

## Edinburgh.

**Wed., Jan. 10.**—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 33, Forrest-road, "At Home," 7.30 p.m. Musical and Dramatic Entertainment. Mrs. Finlayson Gould.

**Thurs., Jan. 25.**—ODDFELLOWS' HALL, Burns' Night. *Speaker:* Mrs. Sproson. Tickets, 1s. and 6d.

## Glasgow.

**Thurs., Dec. 21.**—SPECIAL BRANCH MEETING at 8 p.m.

**Thurs., Jan. 11.**—Whist Drive.

## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE (EDINBURGH BRANCH).

## Abstract of Treasurer's Accounts for period from November 10 to October 30, 1911.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year .. .. .				78	15	11½
Membership Subscriptions .. .. .			10	14	0	
Donations .. .. .			18	10	1	
Collections at Meetings .. .. .			18	16	0	
Tickets sold for Meetings .. .. .			25	13	9	
Drawings at Sales, &c. .. .. .			19	8	10	
Census Protest .. .. .			12	6	0	
Literature and Goods sold .. .. .			40	14	0	
Bank Interest .. .. .			1	3	0	
				147	5	8

## Subscriptions for Special Purposes:—

London Office Fund .. .. .	£6	0	0			
Mrs. Sproson's Fund .. .. .	0	18	3			
			6	18	3	
				154	3	11

£232 19 10½

## PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Rents of Halls for Meetings .. .. .	7	1	0
Social Meetings .. .. .	11	14	0
Literature, &c., purchased .. .. .	26	9	7
Printing, Stationery, Decorations, &c. .. .. .	6	2	0
Advertising .. .. .	15	3	0
Demonstrations, &c. .. .. .	2	16	10
Speakers' and Delegates' Travelling Expenses (net) .. .. .	4	8	7½
Organiser .. .. .	8	0	0
Rent (for half-year), Rates, Cleaning and Sundries for Shop .. .. .	54	2	4
Postages, &c. .. .. .	4	14	9½
	£140	12	2

## SUBSCRIPTIONS:—

To Scottish Council .. .. .	£3	0	0			
To Dundee General Election Expenses .. .. .	5	0	0			
			8	0	0	
To National Executive, London .. .. .	£20	0	0			
Office Fund .. .. .	6	0	0			
Mrs. Sproson's Fund .. .. .	0	18	3			
			26	18	3	
				34	18	3
				£175	10	5

Balance at end of year (exclusive of literature and goods in hand valued at £10):—

In Bank .. .. .	£48	19	10			
In Treasurer's hands .. .. .	8	9	7½			
			57	9	5½	
				£232	19	10½

THE COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE of San Francisco ordered large quantities of the W.F.L. white flag "Votes for Women" brooch for their recent Californian campaign.

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