and and a VOTE

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

Vol. III. No. 65.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 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: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C. Telephone: HOLBORN 6191.

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

EDITORIAL.

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

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United Kingdom ... 6/6 per annum, post free. Foreign Countries ... 8/8 ,, ,,

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

WHAT WE THINK.

While We Wait.

M. Pichon, speaking of the triple entente, is reported to have said that you cannot judge in times of peace of any entente, or of the feelings of those apparently favourable to you. What is true of the triple entente is true of most political and diplomatic situations. Peace time is the time for fair words which, as we know, butter no parsnips. Our time of peace, or rather of quiescence, may soon be at an end, and then we will know who are our allies and who are not. Last week we published a list of those members who supported the Conciliation Bill in the House, and in previous numbers of THE Vote we printed the names of candidate M.P.s, most Vote we printed the names of candidate M.P.s, most of whom were returned, who mentioned women's suffrage in their election addresses. Of the latter, some were adult suffragists and some disapproved of the Conciliation Bill; but in the coming Parliament we shall have an excellent opportunity of seeing how far promises and protestations made in time of peace carry us when the need for the allies is apparent. From the drafted Parliamentary preamble it is likely that the drafted Parliamentary preamble it is likely that questions of reform and amendments dealing with matters concerning the other House will prolong this Parliamentary business indefinitely. After February 6 we will know where we stand. In spite of criticism from whatever quarter it may come we have before us work to be done, and we will do it in our own way, so that the time of our waiting need not be unnecessarily prolonged. If we are not granted time in an early session we will use such methods as may seem good to us to bring Mr. Asquith and his colleagues to a sense of their duty towards a large portion of the community.

The Women's Co-operative Guild and the Women's Eabour League applied recently to the London County Council asking that they might by means of a deputation directly express to the London County Council the opinions and experience of the mothers of the children on the better organisation of the Medical Inspection of London School Children. These two organisations represent married working women, whose children are or have been attending elementary schools. The Women's Co-operative Guild has 26,000 members

connected with Industrial Co-operative Societies, and the Women's Labour League includes the women members and wives of members of Trade Unions, Trade Councils, Co-operative and Socialist Societies.

The reply sent to them was a refusal on the grounds at "the whole question of the medical treatment of school children was at present under consideration, and the Council did not think that any useful purpose would be served by receiving a joint deputation from the Women's Co-operative Guild and Women's Eabour League on the question of School Clinics." Writing to the Press with reference to this refusal Miss Margaret Llewelyn Davies and Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald, the respective secretaries of the two societies, say :

respective secretaries of the two societies, say:—

"Both of our organisations have worked for Medical Inspection and the establishment of School Clinics, as the only means of securing the regular daily treament needed for so many of the diseases of childhood. This treatment cannot be given in the crowded homes of the workers by mothers who have neither the time, skill, nor appliances needed.

"The attempt to deal with the children through hospitals is found both ineffective and costly. A woman from Woolwich writes: "The inconvenience of attending London Hospitals is serious. The return railway fare is 1s. 2d., with many hours of long weary waiting, and where children have mothers who go out to work it means another 2s, or more. It also means that in many cases the children are not taken to hospital at all, but are thoroughly neglected. . . .

After quoting some further cases where the need for criticism from working mothers was apparent the signatories very pertinently remark:—

Women are told that they do not need political power because their sphere is the home. Yet here we have an instance of refusal to give attention to their views on a question of which they have first-hand knowledge, and which is of vital importance to them. Is it because so few married working women have votes for the London County Council that 'no useful purpose can be served' by hearing their views on Medical Treatment, while the whole question is under consideration?"

We think the reason suggested is the right one. It is the crux of every question on which women who have special knowledge are silenced and the value of their knowledge is lost to the community, because, lacking representation, they are regarded as unworthy of attention.

Sex Prejudice.

When we remember the decision recently come to by the Institut de France over the election of women to its ranks we are not surprised at the decision of the General Council of Glasgow University. A resolution was submitted to them to the effect that the word "professor" should be interpreted without distinction of sex, so that any lady duly qualified might be a candidate for any chair in the University. Though the motion had considerable support it was rejected by a majority of two. Here these learned gentlemen who carried their objection had not even the excuse that the ladies they objected to were married teachers. But sex prejudice has no use for reason.

PROPAGANDA.

Preparation.

There is no more fruitful time for active propaganda than during the first four months of the year, and on our efficiency and energy now depends the success of the difficult Summer campaign. It is therefore hoped that branch officers are working at high pressure, and that every member will support and help the local executive with the round of public meetings, At Homes, debates, and lectures now being organised.

King's Speech Meetings.

The most important matter for the moment is the working up of public interest in the meetings to be held on February 6 and the following few days. Every Branch throughout the country is holding one of these meetings, and in London there will be several, of which the principal one will be held at Caxton Hall, at 8 p.m., on February 6, when important matters of policy will be announced.

Battersea and District Municipal Referendum.

This is progressing very well, and is likely to prove of the utmost interest and value to the Cause. There is a good deal of loose talk and loose thinking as to the popular feeling towards the ballot, and it is desirable to get down to cold facts. Some say that the majority of women want the Vote; others, that women are indifferent. These theories are more or less worthless until they are tested. In Battersea they are being tested, for we are carrying out a careful house-to-house canvass of the women on the Municipal Register. The value of this work is very great, and its educational virtues also for those who participate can scarcely be over-estimated. Not a little of the altruism which has developed among the "idle rich" owes its birth to the slumming campaign of twenty years ago. Using this merely as an illustration, we can claim that in our case, and in a similar way, the by-product of municipal canvassing promises to be a deeper sense of community with the life of our fellowcitizens, and a more insistent feeling of responsibility for the economic and social wrongs. It is not right that one half of the world should be so ignorant of how the other half lives and what the other half feels and thinks, and I am not sure but that it is presumption on the part of anyone to try to legislate or to modify legislation without actual knowledge of conditions as they are. Therefore it is really worth the while of every sincere and earnest Suffragist to help us in this campaign in Battersea, or in others elsewhere. Volunteers are gladly welcomed.

Sunday Social Meetings at Our Offices.

The view has been expressed that the weekly Members' Meetings should be held on Sunday afternoons, and therefore the first of these will be held, for members of all London Branches, at I, Robert-street, on February 5, when Mrs. Despard will be present. This, being held on the first Sunday in the month, will be a social meeting, to which members can bring their friends, as will be those on the first Sunday of every following month. On the other Sundays of each month the meetings will be for members only.

London "At Homes."

· Our first "At Home" at Caxton Hall was quite a success, and we are confidently looking forward to a large attendance on Thursday, the 19th inst., when Sir John Cockburn will speak on "Women under the Southern Cross," and Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, L.L.A., on "The New Parliament and Women's Vote." On the following Thursday the speakers will be Mrs. Despard, who will speak on "Woman and the Changing World," and Miss Edmée Manning, on "What Lancashire Thinks

National Delegates' Reception.

On Saturday, January 28, the Annual Conference will be held, and following it, on Sunday, the 29th, a public reception will be given at Caxton Hall, at 3 p.m. Last year this was one of the most interesting meetings, and we hope this time also to have a large attendance. Reserved tickets can be had for 4s, each, but admission

will be free. Several delegates will speak on the growth of the movement and the work in the provinces. B. BORRMANN WELLS.

We intend to hold a Jumble Sale on Wednesday, January 25, in aid of the funds of the Battersea Centre. Will members and friends make a point of looking out articles for this sale at once, and sending them before Tuesday, January 24, to Mrs. Sutcliffe, 58, Sister'savenue, Clapham Common, S.W., or 316, Battersea-park-We are urgently in need of every kind of saleable article for this sale,

This week we have had help from Mrs. Sutcliffe (who is indefatigable in her efforts), Mrs. Yaldwin, Mrs. Gatty, Mrs. McCabe, and Miss Munro; and several others have promised to help. But there is work for many more. I shall be glad to hear of helpers for the Jumble Sale on January 25.

Mrs. Despard is holding a meeting on January 24 in the shop for women municipal voters and other interested women. MADGE TURNER, Organiser. Battersea (S.W.), London Propaganda District, 316,

Battersea-park-road.

POLITICAL AND MILITANT.

Canvass of Municipal Voters.

Mr. Winston Churchill, among others, has cast doubts on the statement that most of the women who would be enfranchised by the Conciliation Bill are working women. In order to provide accurate information on this point, a canvass is being made in Mr. Churchill's own constituency by the three Suffrage Societies jointly. It will be ascertained how many of the municipal voters are wives and widows, and a classification will be made under four heads:-(1) Women of leisure; (2) professional and business women; (3) wageearning women; (4) working-class housewives. As there are 5,700 women to canvass it is easy to understand that the two requisites are time and money. The Dundee women are giving their time; those interested in the carrying out of a solid piece of work like this canvass should send subscriptions without delay.

North-Eastern District. Miss Neilans reports enthusiastic meetings at the branches she has visited. This week she goes to Harrogate, the Potteries, Wolverhampton, and Cheltenham.
EDITH HOW MARTYN.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF STREET-SELLING.

This weather does not make street selling altogether a delightful occupation, but I can still recommend any who would like to spend an interesting hour to try it. For a study of character alone it is well worth doing,

and although one almost despairs at times when met the indifference and apathy of men and women who appear to take no interest in the things that matter, still now and then cheering incidents occur which compensate for all the rest. Many a pleasing chat have I had with those who, perhaps, have never read or even seen The Vote before, and never attended one meeting. A paper sold, an invitation given, a pleasant "Au revoir," and then a return to our cry, "The Vote, one penny"! Sales may not always be brisk, but as a gentleman said to me after buying one the other day, "You are doing a splendid work, even if you don't sell one all day."

And so I would encourage all to try if only for a short time. Also, don't forget to always carry two or three copies of THE VOTE about everywhere you go; an opportunity is sure to arise for selling, and many a customer is lost through our neglecting to be always supplied.—ETHEL FENNINGS, VOTE Organiser.

AT the Members' Meeting on Friday last Mrs. Borrmann Wells announced that she had already sent in her resignation, as there is a probability of her going to America. At its meeting on Saturday the National Executive Committee unanimously refused to accept her resignation until the probability of her departure becomes a certainty.

THE IDEALS & FUTURE OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

BY C. DESPARD.

There comes a moment in the life of societies, as in presence of a few interested friends who could not misthat of individuals, when it is wise and well to see where we stand. We started with a certain hope, a certain promise. Neither society nor individual can venture at any specified moment to say that the promise has not been fulfilled, that the existence has not been justified. But it is fair to ask, Does the promise still bind us? Is the hope of its fruition still the guiding star of our

For the society this is still more necessary than for the individual, because of the difference in consciousness. Each separate human being thrust into physical life without, so far, at least, as we now know, any conscious volition of its own, is but dimly conscious of the whence and the whither. A society, on the other hand, is conscious; those who found it, those who join it, have a definite purpose. They set before themselves an aim which they desire to achieve, an ideal of that which is not, but which, as they maintain, may be in front of them. It forms the very reason of their existence. At first, with the lofty enthusiasm of converts, they convince themselves that their object is new, that it will soon be accomplished. With hope deferred comes a measure of discouragement, and some inevitably

That is a moment when a society should look back and look forward, making certain of itself. I believe that this is necessary to our League—a retrospect, a looking forward, a few plain questions, addressed not to those outside, but to ourselves.

We started with certain definite ideals. These are

set out, with perfect clearness, in the name we chose, 'Women's Freedom League." We, a little body of much discredited people, desired to reconquer the independence which through untoward circumstances, on the one hand, and our own want of faith on the other, woman had lost. We knew that women, ourselves as well as our sisters, required education in the large life of the nation, and we took democracy for our flag. It has not been easy to bear it aloft, for women trained through long ages to subjection have even to learn to think independently. Moreover, there is a spurious kind of democracy—shall we call it the last infirmity of strong minds? very difficult to conquer; namely, that certain persons' will and opinion being necessarily right ought to be accepted by the majority of people. I wonder if it has ever occurred to those lofty souls that great issues are wrought out slowly. Let them look back to history! Let them note the easy way in which old annalists told of such things as wars, reforms forced upon unwilling authorities, great cities built and inhabited. All passes like a flash. But when cold chronology faces us, we find that the processes so lightly recorded have moved through hundreds of years.

For my own part, as one who has been closely in touch with League workers, my wonder is not at the slowness but at the rapidity of their development. But, do let it be understood by those who criticise us, we are

not perfect yet.

We are democratic I have said. I do not mean by this that we are clever in building up constitutions and in tinkering them after they have been built. Rather, our democracy consists in complete recognition of the truth that everything which concerns the life of the nationmarriage, parenthood, industry, education, housing, sanitation, transit, foreign relations, is our business. It is true we are demanding the "Vote," but this has never narrowed us down to politics merely. Independence, that royal gift which we have lost, we have constantly been setting forward as the goal we must attain if ever we are effectually to serve the world.

And here, again, I venture to say that its progress has been extraordinarily rapid. It is my own personal experience that I can now speak freely in public, as formerly I could not have ventured to speak except in the remedy for every social evil,

understand me.

Another of our ideals is tolerance—not, be it understood, a weak acceptance of the theory and practice of those whose ideals may differ from our own; rather a recognition of the fact that we, no less than they, are subject to error, and that it is better work to strengthen our own foundations than to seek to demolish. At the same time, we are bound in duty and honour to state our own position with clearness and accuracy that leaves nothing in doubt. If thereby we seem to cast criticism upon those who have taken up a different position, we are not to blame.

I have spoken of our ideals; I must give a word to our policy. We are militant, and as, from now a little distance of time, I look back upon our militancy, it is not with regret, it is with the deepest satisfaction, that I remember them-the police-court protests, admirably conceived and carried out; the breaking of the grille, and the ballot-box protest—both of these symbolic in the highest degree-above all, the picketing, in its silence, in its dignity, its militant quality, its passive endurance—these were not only effective, but original. They have truly reflected our ideals.

And now it remains for me to ask whether, or how far, we have followed the ideals which, when this Society was founded, we put before ourselves; whether, in fact, we have justified our existence and deserve to go on. desire also to forecast the future of our League, or, at least, to tell my fellow-members what I see when I look forward. But as this would take up more space than THE VOTE can spare, I will reserve it for the next issue.

AT HOME AT CAXTON HALL.

There was a good attendance at the Caxton Hall on Thursday last. Mrs. How Martyn was in the chair, and Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Francis were the speakers. Mrs. Francis spoke on "Race Suicide" (her address will be found on another page). Mrs. How Martyn gave a brief outline of our preparations for the opening of Parliament, and spoke of the encouraging accounts received from all the branches to which members of the N.E.C. had been sent on a special mission.

Mrs. Despard took Edward Carpenter's words, "The mighty world, past, present, and to come, enfolds thee" as a text. Chancing on these words, she looked on them as a symbol. She tried to follow them out. "Our human ancestors," she said, "and those who preceded them in the pageant of life, and those yet to come live in us." Speaking of woman in the present time, she alluded to the results of her usual upbringing, her subtlety, her cringing deference, her love of personal adornment, and her over-self-sacrifice, and in recent times her loyalty, her persistence, her initiative. This strange mixture of qualities would be perplexing if, casting back into the past, one could not find the reason for them. She visualised the woman of the past ranging the woods side by side with her partner, and her subection gradual and arising out of the long immaturity of the human infant. And the care of this infant may have been the first beginnings of civilisation in the comforts she demanded for him as she realised that the hunter's wild game would not suit him, and so, to give him at all times fruits and the early cereals, the earth near his cave would be brought into subjection.

Speaking of the change in the relationship of human beings to each other, she dealt with the fall from perfection, of which the serpent, the early picture-word for the senses, was the symbol. Of the woman to come, she said the recovery of her royal independence was her objective, and with it the power to bring about the regeneration of the world that was to be. This woman of the future would regard a loveless marriage as worse than prostitution. She would seek out a

RACE SUICIDE.

THE VOTE.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MRS. EDWARD FRANCIS, N.E.C., AT CAXTON HALL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 12.



Mrs. Edward Francis.

It is a commonplace on Suffrage platforms to say that the human element in legislation has been forgotten - crowded out by the material and commercial aims which appeal more strongly to the average masculine mind. Women are mind. clamouring for entrance to the legislature because, amongst other reasons, they are weary of being castigated for a condition of things over which they have little or no control.

Specially violent abuse is flung at them because it is alleged that they are responsible—their laziness, love of pleasure, &c .- for a recognised factor in modern lifethe volitional limitation of the family. This applies, however, only to women of some means and education. The great mass of women less comfortably circumstanced are blamed with equal bitterness because they fail to keep alive the children that, often most unwillingly, they have brought into the world. These two problems, the limitation of the family amongst what we may term "awakened" women and the death-rate of infants amongst their less awakened sisters appear to the outside world as two distinct problems. To Suffragists they present but two sides of one whole and are intimately bound up with the Women's Suffrage Movement.

A one-sided legislation has done little or nothing to

solve or mitigate either problem. Race improvement cannot be effected without the direct co-operation in legislation of mothers—actual and potential and a general raising of the status of their sex.

What are the conditions of things at present? Need they be emphasized? Infanticide is treated as murder, yet we tolerate an apalling death-rate of babies in our workhouses. Our National Church bids a man endow his wife with all his worldly goods—our national legislature refuses her legal right to one penny of his money housing conditions prevail which make decency, morality, healthy births or nurture absolutely impossible; a masculine Board of Education decides what our girls shall or shall not be taught, and has made such blunders in doing so as will take more than one generation to remedy. Last, but not least, the god of commercial prosperity has laid such burdens on the girls and women of the race as are a standing disgrace to civilised Europe. Low starvation wages with consequent lowered constitutions-cause and effect in direct line-these are responsible for the many signs of degeneracy seen

Infant Mortality-Its Causes.

At the last Sanitary Congress held in Brighton, 1910, special attention was devoted to infant mortality, a subject which the late Medical Officer of Health for that borough, Dr. Newsholme, has made very much his own. In his report on the subject he brought to notice a fact of great interest to those who believe that the very worst way to set to work to improve the race is to diminish the wage-earning opportunities and capacities of the mothers. He pointed out that the two counties with the highest rate of infant mortality were Glamorgan and Durham. In these two counties the women are not industrially occupied. The wages of the men are comparatively high, but the unpaid drudgery of the home is particularly laborious and the heavy washing and mangling of a miner's home, coupled with infamous housing conditions, acts with disastrous effect upon the lives of the mothers and their offspring.

At this same Congress it was remarkable what a consensus of opinion there was amongst the women doctors, health officers and sanitary inspectors drawn from all parts of the land that the chief reason for infant mortality was the malnutrition of the mother. Case after case was brought forward showing how all too frequently the very last person considered—and certainly the last to consider herself-was the mother, whether it was a question of food, clothes or recreation.

"Race suicide" is, I believe, the direct outcome of the mental and spiritual starvation permitted and even advocated during the past three or four centuries. It is only within the last fifty years that any real advance has been made on the ideas of the eighteenth century which denied to women the exercise of any other faculties than those deemed necessary for the performance of one function, and one function only. Indelibly stamped in our legal code, in the precepts of the Church, and in current literature may be seen-first, the doubt as to whether woman had a soul or not; second, whether she had a mind or not; in any case, not giving her any training which might develop intellect if she had any; and a whole sea of ink has been used to prove that she was an inferior being and would eternally so remain. Out of this slough a great advance has been made. The problem we know as "race suicide" is, I believe, a part of that advance. It marks an increased sense of responsibility on the part of women and is an outward sign of revolt against the degradation of the highest and holiest of functions. We are passing, I believe, through a transitional period out of which will arise a placing of motherhood on such a pedestal of honour as it has never yet occupied outside the realm of poetry-but this can only be achieved through the emancipation of

Undoubtedly, though we have already got rather weary of hearing and reading of race suicide, we may as well be prepared to hear and read a great deal more about it in the immediate future.

This year for the first time an entirely new element is to be introduced into the census paper. For the first time in British census-taking questions are to be asked concerning the number of children born in a family with duration of marriage.

The new questions appear in Cols. 6, 7, 8 and 9, under the general heading, "Particulars as to marriage," their precise wording being: "State for each married woman entered on this schedule the number of completed years the present marriage has lasted. The questions being: Total children born alive? Children still living? Children who have died ?

This is a direct attempt to ascertain whether, as is so frequently stated, the family decreases with the ascent

Personally, I feel sure there will be no doubt as to the result. Such facts as that the number of births per family in Hampstead is three, and that the average number of children in the families from whence our mentally deficient come is nine, will not only be reaffirmed but the proportion will be shown to be even greater. I don't think we can be surprised at that. Awakened woman is learning the supreme and foundational fact that God has given to her control of the fountain of life. She is learning that quality is at least as important as quantity; she is learning that among the conditions which go to the making of a healthy child the economic independence of the woman, with its consequent abolition of marriage as a trade, and an absolutely free disposition of herself in the married state, is vital. This secured, we may be perfectly sure that the maternal instinct will for ever prevent the race from dying out.

reckless overcrowding. Feeble-minded Mothers.

Is it not a significant fact that at present it is from our weakest and most ignorant mothers that the largest families are springing? In one workhouse we read of five feeble-minded women having given birth to fifteen feeble-minded children. In another sixteen feeble-minded women have brought 116 feeble-minded babies into the world. In the Annual Report (1905) on inebriate homes it is stated that ninety-two habitually inebriate women had given birth to 850 children. To give some idea of the actual cost to the community entailed, a careful investigation into the history of two degenerate girls and their descendants has been made, resulting in the astounding discovery that they had cost the State £260,000!

Could anything more wasteful, more extravagant, more wicked and cruel be imagined than the policy of laissez aller which allows these things to continue. We cry out about the increase of the unfit, yet we allow the pauper, the criminal, the insane, and the feebleminded to propagate the evil tendencies of their progenitors. Surely masculine legislation in this respect needs the co-operation of the woman! And here I would emphasize the great importance and close connection between the uplifting of women and the question of race-improvement.

The Marriage Age.

It is amazing, looking back upon the past, to find how utterly neglected has been the science of eugenics. Infinite trouble has been taken to improve the stock of animals of all kinds-and even of such grains as wheat, oats and barley. Upon the human mother less pains have been expended and more burdens laid than on many kinds of four-footed creatures. How terrible a burden has been laid upon the mothers of men! In just one single instance—the age at which marriage has been forced upon girl-children—what untold evil has been done to the race! History tells us of numerous marriages in the Royal Family of children of ten, eleven, and twelve, but even outside the Royal Family it was considered two centuries ago that fourteen was no unusual age for a girl to take upon her the responsibilities, the pains and pleasures of motherhood. Mrs. Pepys was married at fifteen; Rachel, the daughter of Lord Russell, the patriot, at fourteen. Mrs. Evelyn, was married at twelve; and of the six sons born to her five died before they were three. Comment is need-less! No wonder the next two generations showed a marked decadence in manners, morals and physique! In legalising married slavery male legislators have acted suicidally for the nation's interest, and so it has been all along the line. Every injustice to women has reacted upon the sons as well as upon the daughters of the race. Some eugenic reformers profess themselves as fearful lest the Woman Suffrage Movement should lead to measures of mistaken charity tending to still further increase of undesirable stock. Others-and these include the majority of women still wavering as to whether they will join the Suffrage ranks-fail to grasp the intimate relationship between legislation and the problems we have been considering.

Possible Reforms. If women had votes how could they help to improve matters? they ask. Of course, it is quite impossible and most undesirable that any one individual should presume to suggest or prophesy how women would vote, but as to some of the measures which could be considered and voted either for or against, let me just first suggest possible legislative helps towards decreasing the birthrate among the unfit:

Segregation of all children at present in our feeble-

Segregation of all lunatics temporary or permanent. Segregation of all confirmed drunkards.

Surely, public opinion is at least ready for these measures of reform! Any initial expense would be recouped by the gradual but certain diminution of the

Equally the world will be free from any danger of number of gaols, asylums, workhouses, and the elaborate paraphernalia of justice now needed for dealing with these classes. Legislation on the constructive side presents more difficulty, but still something could be done if women were called in to co-operate in framing it. In matters of taxation a small step has been taken in relieving certain incomes of 7s. 6d. per child. This is certainly a beginning. The taxation of the unmarried and even of the childless married might be considered; maternal endowment, already long advocated by progressive thinkers—with payment made to the mother as the administrator of the family budget, the amount to be dependent on the quality of the home—is surely not impossible of realisation.

It might be considered whether all money spent on education should not be treated as life insurance premiums are treated, and exempted from income-tax; whether death duties should be levied not as at present on what a parent leaves, but on what a child receives, so that divided among several children a fortune should pay on a lower scale than if left to one or two. In education too, when women as well as men are responsible for the syllabus of instruction drawn up for the education of the young, sexual hygiene will, perhaps, find a place. Boys and girls need preparing for the battle of life in no way so specially as in a knowledge of the nature and meaning of sex and of its place in the life of the individual and the nation.

A great campaign to educate people in a knowledge of the laws of heredity and to inspire greater reverence for the human body is needed, and will, I trust, be soon forthcoming. Most important, perhaps, of all, we must see to it that a minimum living wage is assured to all men and women alike. When we have done away with the economic marriage we shall have gone a long way towards solving the difficult problem known as race suicide.

MARIE SPIRIDONOVA.

In Akatoui, the penal colony, is one Marie Spiridonova, whose beauty is so great that the reports always read: That though showing proofs of all she had undergone, her great beauty is not really marred." This young girl had taken it upon herself to mete out justice to the Governor-General of Tambov for having gone through that province with fire and sword. He would order peasants to be whipped, keeping them tied for two or three weeks lying on the floor in barns, and taking them out next day to be whipped again, until death relieved them. The bench where the whipping was done would invariably be next to the barn where the men lay, and thus the blows and the cries of the tortured man were heard by the victims within Spiridonova went to meet the Governor-General at a railway station, drew out her revolver, which she carried in her muff, and shot him dead at a distance of thirty feet. Before she had time to use the revolver on herself she was jumped upon by the guards and officers, beaten, dragged by the hair, burned with cigarettes, and so horribly maltreated in prison for days that even her lawyers could not, for decency sake, make public the things that were done to her.-Rose Strunsky, in the Forum.

THE "AT HOME" to be given by the Women Writers' Suffrage League at the Little Theatre, on the afternoon of January 24, promises to be a most interesting one. A special feature of the programme will be songs with instrumental accompaniment by Dr. Ethel Smyth, who will herself conduct. Dr. Smyth draws attention to the interesting fact that the Flautist and Percussionist will be women.

A woman who applied for a judicial order at the Marylebone Police-court had been deserted by her husband three months after marriage. This scoundrel, by name of Eastoe, is now living with a woman who was is mistress before marriage, and the reason why he left his wife was because her health had given way under the stress of working to support her rascal of a husband and herself."-P.I.P.

THE VOTE

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Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 148, Holborn Bars.

Secretary—Miss M. E. RIDLER.

Directors—Mrs. C. DESPARD, Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.,

Miss MARIE LAWSON, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1911.

AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

The new year will shortly bring us the new Parliament, hardly "a little stranger," for we know it already, after all the oratory, and the personal abuse, and the lies on either side, and the ill-bred posters, and the wild indignation supposed to see the in the great heart of the nation against the wild men of the Second Chamber. "As you were" is the verdict of the voice of the people. "Much ado about nothing," grumbles the man in the street.

The Party system seems to have broken down, for two successive elections political prophets have prophesied falsely, the mathematical law of average seems to have gone wrong, even the good old swing of the pendulum is out of order, and so evenly are the great political parties balanced that, were it not for the heterogenous coalition on the side of the Liberals, there would not be a majority rule at all: one-half of the country is governing the other half.

And the other half is asking discontentedly why they

have been bothered, trade upset, and the goodwill of Christmastide spoilt by a struggle only to end in another

The great drop in the number of votes recorded shows that many, wearied-out, abstained from the poll, and though one of the great arguments against women's vote is that they won't vote, no proposal has been made to disfranchise these bored electors.

To admit under our very moderate Conciliation Bill a million and a quarter of qualified women, already versed in the art of marking X on a voting-paper, would perhaps prevent this impossible situation from occurring again, but because the legend runneth that our crosses would one and all be against the Conservative name, that timid hare, the Liberal Government, forsakes all the great principles of Liberalism, forgetful that there is gratitude in human breasts, and we women will remember for ever the men bold and brave enough to give political freedom, justice and liberty to an oppressed sex.

We are told that we must shortly have a new Reform Bill, and that men's wrongs cry for justice. To the practical mind of a woman the whole register is ridiculous, when the keeping of a parrot is said to enforce a claim for a vote, and when the moving across a street can disfranchise. By all means let the men drag themselves out of the "mysterious morass" they have made for themselves; but we submit that we ought to be dragged up first out of the mire and clay, where we have stuck fast since 1832, one and all in a quagmire made by

We are told the problem of rotten boroughs is arising again, and we answer; all your rotten boroughs put together are as nothing to the rotten borough of sex where for seventy years the cry of disinherited womanhood has gone on ignored and unheard. That it is ignored is to my mind the worst and meanest wrong. Unless someone goes out window-breaking or assaulting Cabinet Ministers a stranger in England might imagine that all women lived as happily and contentedly under male protection as anti-suffragist ladies of title.

Lady Frances Balfour has recently published in The Times an appeal from Lord Cromer for a secret antisuffrage service fund. At first one wonders at the secrecy, but a little reflection shows that a public appeal would acknowledge what the antis deny-that there is a demand for the political freedom of women, and would make null and void their argument: "Women do not want votes," as stated in the streets on the backs of starving men.

Wandering up and down the country one soon loses the awe and respect for the male elector, which the Diet, says a Reuter telegram from Helsingfors.

antis inculcate; even the best democrat must be a little startled at his own democracy, at the hordes of genial "drunks" who reel off to the poll temporarily as disqualified from sane and sober judgment as the maddest lunatic in padded cell; at the numbers of illiterate voters (not only the aged) who, in spite of forty years of compulsory education at enormous cost to other democrats, can still neither read nor write; and at the extraordinary ignorance of the electorate.

'I don't 'old with rich females voting. I'm a Liberal I am. Our Member's a plural voter and I'm with 'im, I am.'

I looked at the man in his dirt and degradation, and grasped the situation. "I don't think you're a plural voter; I think you mean you are an adult suffragist.

"Yes, that's it, missis; that's what I am—adult suffragist, that's it."

Would even Mrs. Humphry Ward hail this scholar as a natural voter"? Had the antis ever stood outside the polling-booths as we do, chilled and soaked in frost and rain and snow, they would find it hard to prove any longer, with any logic, their pagan doctrine of force, when under the noses of able-bodied women, men—sick, crippled, paralysed, in ambulance and heated brougham, aided by wives and daughters and hospital nurses, with hot-water bottles and brandy and sal volatile, are assisted to record their vote.

Where on these beds of weakness and pain is the physical force which we are told is behind every man's vote in England? We can see only the force of mind triumphing over each quivering nerve.

Meantime we welcome the new year with good hope; on the whole we have an increased number of Members in the House in sympathy with our cause, and under the management of our good friend, Mr. Brailsford, the Conciliation Committee will shortly assemble. Two hundred and fifty-two of the righteous men who voted for our Bill have been returned, and some well-known antis have lost their seats-Bowles, Mallet, Leyland, Barrett. Belloc did not stand, and since the election death has taken that great scholar and master of English prose, whose one fault was that he let a too exclusive research into a dead civilisation obscure his vision of the present needs of womanhood. According to votes for women, we have in Parliament :-

Members prepared to vote for a Woman Suffrage Bill on lines of the Conciliation Bill ... Members prepared to vote for a measure of Adult Suffrage

Members who voted against the Conciliation Bill, but would support a more moderate measure ..

176 Neutral or absent from Second Reading, or whose views

If Mr. Asquith does not use his Veto, all may be well. MARGARET WYNNE NEVINSON.

UNIVERSITY WOMEN TEACHERS.

At the annual meeting of the Association of University Women Teachers, held at University Hall, Gowerstreet, a brief debate, described by The Standard as just a discussion amongst cultured women who are carrying out part of the work of the country on the difficulties which are placed in their way by the fact that they have no voting rights," took place, and the following resolution was proposed:-

That this association is of opinion that the direct and effective influence of women in educational policy and administration can never be secured without the Parliamentary franchise, and that the need of such influence is especially urgent at the present time, as lines of policy are being laid down which must vitally affect the welfare of the country for more than a generation. The association, therefore, urges the Government to pass into law a Women's Suffrage Bill next session.

This was discussed at great length, and passed with only one dissentient, though a certain number abstained from voting. A rider was added to the effect that Mr. Runciman's attention should be called to the resolution, and that he be asked to bring it before the Prime Minister.

NINETEEN women have been elected to the new Finnish

Stocktaking Sale NOW PROCEEDING.

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Debenham & Freebody.

Wigmore Street (Cavendish Square), London, W.

BRANCH NOTES.

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

Anerley and Crystal Palace District.—Miss E. Fennings, 149, Croydon-road.

Considering the cold night we held a fairly successful meeting Considering the cold night we held a fairly successful meeting at the Suffrage Offices, Anerley-road, last Friday evening, when Miss Ethel Fennings and Mr. Victor Duval were the speakers and Miss Mary Pearson took the chair. One new member was gained, and one or two others promised to consider it. Several expressed themselves converted to militant methods through Mr. Duval's clear explanation. The Vote was sold and a collection taken. On the 23rd, at 3.30 p.m., a drawing-room meeting will be held at "The Hermitage,"

Stamford Hill .- Mrs. A. CUNNINGHAM, 114. Holmleigh-road, N. A large and successful open-air meeting was held last Friday evening at the corner of Amhurst-park, when Miss Guttridge kindly gave an address. At the conclusion several copies of The Vote were sold. A pitch for the sale of this paper has been started at the corner of Cazenove-road.

The next afternoon "At Home" will be held on February 7, at 106, Cazenove-road (by kind invitation of Mrs. Southall). Will members kindly reserve this date?

Central London.-Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing. At our branch members' meeting, on the 9th inst., Miss Marie Lawson, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mrs. Tritton, and Miss Edith Craig were elected as our delegates at the forthcoming Conference.

Meetings for the instruction of delegates will be held at 1, Robert-street at 7 p.m. on Friday, January 20, and Tuesday, January 24. It is greatly to be desired that all branch members who can possibly do so will attend.

Members are reminded that our next fortnightly public meet-

ing will be held on January 31, at 8 p.m., in the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand, when Miss Seruya will act as hostess, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield taking the chair, with Mr. G. E.

O'Dell as speaker.

The members of the Branch Committee are requested to meet at 7 p.m. before the public are admitted.

The February meetings will be held in another hall, the name of which will be announced in next week's issue of THE VOTE.

As these meetings are being undertaken for the purpose propaganda, will members make them known to all their friends, whether Suffragists or not, and also distribute the handbills?—E. G. T.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND BRANCHES.

Brighton and Hove.

Hon. Secretaries—Mrs. Francis, 51, Buckingham-place;
Hove, Miss Hare, 8, San Remo.
There will be a public meeting held at the Pavilion on Friday,
January 20, at 8 p.m., on the subject of Tax Resistance. The
speakers will be Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Kineton Parkes, with
Miss Hare in the chair. Some members are prepared to resist
the payment of their taxes, and it is hoped that others will
join in this form of protest.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser: MISS MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Urmston.—Miss M. Hudson, "Oaklands," Flixton.
The Urmston Branch held the first meeting of the New Year in Wills' Room, Flixton-road, on Monday, January 9. There was a good muster of members, sympathisers, and associates, was a good muster of members, sympathisers, and associates, and a bright and encouraging evening was spent. Miss Janet Heyes spoke of the progress of the movement in 1910, and of the value of The Vote as a means of propaganda. Miss Manning gave as a reading "Woman This and Woman That," making it the text of a brief address. Afterwards the members discussed branch business, and work for the coming campaign was planned. Mr. Beanland's suggestion of a regular distribution of free literature down selected roads was enthusiastically taken up, and eight members gave in their names as distributors. On Friday next, January 20, Miss Manning will give a lantern lecture on "Florence Nightingale, Pioneer and Suffragist," in Hughenden's Room, Flixton-road. Will members kindly make this as widely known as possible?

Sale.—Miss Gehler, "Thornlea," Wardle-road.

make this as widely known as possible?

Sale.—Miss Geiler, "Thornlea," Wardle-road.

Our Mothers' and Babies' Meeting, held on Monday, January 9, at the Congregational School, Ashton-on-Mersey, by kind invitation of Mrs. Johnson, proved an unqualified success. About forty women and ten babies were present, the lattice behaving with exemplary quietness. The meeting was a combined one, and took the place of the women's fortnightly Monday afternoon meeting in connection with the church. Mrs. Johnson ("Www." An "Warna's Work." An bined one, and took the place of the women's fortnightly Monday afternoon meeting in connection with the church. Mrs. Johnson presided and Miss Manning spoke on "Women's Work." An interesting discussion on co-operative housekeeping followed, in which several members of the audience joined. Tea and talk brought a delightful afternoon to a close. The Sale Branch is most grateful to Mrs. Johnson for giving us the opportunity of such a pleasant gathering, and also for bringing us into touch with another organised body of women in the district. Our best thanks are also due to all the friends who so kindly beload in serving the tea and to Mrs. Manning who provided it.

Our best thanks are also due to all the friends who so kindly helped in serving the tea, and to Mrs. Manning, who provided it. The committee met on Saturday, January 14, and arrangements were made for the coming Whist Drive. This will be held in the Temperance Rooms, Cross-street, on Monday, January 23, at 8 p.m. Tickets, price 1s., may be had from Miss Geiler, Thornlea, Wardle-road, or any member of the committee.

Manchester Central.-Miss Hordern, 36, Preston-road.

On Tuesday, January 10, Miss Hanlin kindly lent her drawing-

On Tuesday, January 10, Miss Hanin kindly lent her drawingroom for a branch meeting, and Miss Manning addressed the
members. The attendance was, unfortunately, a small one.
Miss Hordern asked those present to lay by goods for a Jumble
Sale in March, and reminded them that our first public meeting
in Levenshulme will be held on Wednesday, January 25, in the
Congregational School. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m.
by the Rev. W. Fry, and the speakers will be Miss Neal and
Miss Jenet Heves Miss Janet Heves.

On Thursday, January 12, the Literary and Debating Society of the Lord-street P.S.A. invited Miss Manning and Miss C. Moir, of the National Anti-Suffrage League, to debate from their

platform.

Miss Manning proposed the following resolution: "That on grounds of justice and expediency the franchise should be granted to duly qualified women at the earliest possible opportunity." An audience of keen Lancashire men and women listened intently to the arguments on either side, applauded each speaker vigorously, but voted almost solid for the resolution. Miss Moir made the best of a very bad case, and we only wish she were on our side. After the meeting The Vorte and "Women's Suffrage in America," by Mrs. Borrmann Wells, had a ready sale.—M. E. Manning.

sale.—M. E. Manning.

Eccles.—Miss J. Heyes, "Newholme," Hazelhurst, Worsley.

Members of the Eccles Branch may congratulate themselves.

The Whist Drive of Friday, January 13, was a distinct success, and has added £2 to the branch funds. Many members have worked well. Miss Manning herself visited members of Swinton, and Pendlebury, and set the tickets circulating. Mr. Allen has believed were write very thing and achieved wonders in has helped everyone with everything, and achieved wonders in the way of ticket-selling. Miss Neal won general favour and approbation as hostess and mistress of ceremonies. The mem-

appropation as nostess and mistress of ceremonies. The members who gave and served the refreshments were the Misses Balderstone, Baines, Moore, Brookes, Kipps, Wilkinson, and Heyes. But the Jumble Sale of Saturday, the 21st, is to realise more. Will members and friends who have anything to jumble please communicate with me? The sale is to take place in King-street Mission, Eccles, at 3 o'clock. I shall be glad to know of members who can give personal service on the Friday

on Monday, the 23rd, Miss Janet Heyes will debate on the Woman's Suffrage Movement with the League of Young

OF SPECIAL :: INTEREST TO "THE VOTE" READERS.

Our Annual White Sale commences on Monday, January 30, and lasts for 14 days. We are issuing a Fully Illustrated Catalogue showing many of the special lines offered.

We should like to receive a visit from you, or would gladly send you one of the Catalogues.

> Perhaps it would be as well if you wrote for a copy to-day.

WILLIAM WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

Liberals in the Independent Schoolroom, Moorside-road, Moorside, Swinton, at 8 p.m. Incongruous as it may seem, we are warned to expect vigorous opposition. Suffragists are asked to rally in support of the resolution.—J. A. HEYES.

Chester.—Miss Woodall, 13, Abbey-square.

A branch meeting was held on Monday, January 9, at 8 p.m., in a room which Mrs. Mason very kindly lent us. Miss Davies was the speaker. We all congratulate her, and hope that we shall often hear her again. The result of her speech and Miss Woodall's, who took the chair, was that another sympathiser has joined us, and several members are undertaking definite work.—F. Taylor, Hon. Treasurer.

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

Caldicot.—Miss L. Corben, Ivy Lodge.
Our treasurer's report for 1910 showed us the very satisfactory balance in hand of £2 13s. 2d. when we held our meeting last

Wednesday.

New members are joining, and we are looking forward with pleasure to having Mrs. McLeod Cleeves here next Saturday.

Will friends kindly bear in mind that we are hoping to raise money by a jumble sale and entertainment after Easter (April 19)? Contributions, new and old, will be thankfully received, for we are anxious to send a good donation to headquarters from the proceeds.—L. CORBEN.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Sulfrage Centre, 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET.
Sulfrage Centre Manageress: MISS R. McARTHUR.
Hon. Secretary: MISS B. S. SEMPLE.
Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Glasgow.

The whist drive to be held in the Suffrage Centre on Wednesday, 25th inst., promises to be a great success. Tickets are selling briskly, and any member who has not yet secured hers might apply to the Convener of her district or direct to the Suffrage Centre. Tickets are 2s. 6d. each.

A large audience assembled in the "Centre" last Saturday evening to hear Mrs. Dobbie and Miss Sidley speak at the monthly "At Home." Mrs. Wilson was in the chair, and in a very graceful speech introduced Mrs. Dobbie. Mrs. Dobbie gave us a most interesting little discourse on the inequalities of the Scots law as regards men and women. Mrs. Dobbie said she had been moved to take up the subject as all Suffrage papers—The Vote included—spoke only of the English law, which, of course, does not apply to Scotland.

Miss Sidley, who was warmly welcomed by her Glasgow

friends, gave a stirring speech on the present position of the Women's Freedom League in the political world.

Our best thanks are due to Mrs. Beatson and Miss Geen, who acted as hostesses, to Miss Hunter for her fine singing, to Miss Patrick for kindly playing the accompaniments, and to Mrs. McLeod and her party for their delightful mandoline trios.

A good collection was taken, and a large number of Votes sold.—L. S.

Edinburgh.

sold.—L. S.

Edinburgh.

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.

During the holidays no meetings were held, but the shop was kept open, and the goods so kindly contributed to our "Christmas window" found a ready sale. The second half of our winter syllabus was entered upon on Wednesday evening, when Miss Sidley, after her meeting with the committee, addressed the monthly "At Home." Miss Sara Munro, who presided, summarised the work done for Suffrage in 1910, and the hopes entertained for 1911. Miss Sidley spoke in her usual delightful manner of the meaning of the movement and its recent developments, and made an earnest appeal for further devotion and service. We hope that this appeal will bear fruit, and shall be particularly glad to have volunteers for the sale of The Vote. Miss Sidley is to speak again at the afternoon "At Home" on the 24th.

The whist drive and dance arranged by Miss Muriel Wilson and Miss Agnes Thomson, and held in the Café Vegetaria on Friday evening, was a most enjoyable and successful function. Very sincere thanks are due to these ladies, and their success ought to encourage many similar ventures on behalf of the

th to encourage many similar ventures on behalf of the

ought to encourage many similar variations of the League.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Charles Price, M.P. for Central Edinburgh, is to speak for us on February 24, along with Mrs. Israel Zangwill.—Helen McLachlan, Assistant

The monthly meeting of the Kirkintilloch Branch was held the Y.M.C.A. Hall on Tuesday, January 10, at 8 p.m. Miss

speaker for the evening, Miss Irwin, secretary to the Scottish Council for Women's Trades, gave an interesting address on "Women Workers," dealing specially with sweating in home needlework industries.—D. C. MACINTYRE.

m home needlework industries.—D. C. MACINTYRE.

Dundee.—34, Rankine-street, Dundee.

The usual meetings were resumed here on Thursday last.

Tea was served at the beginning, and Miss Husband presided over a very good attendance of members and friends. Owing to a snowstorm in the district, the speaker of the evening, Mr. Norval Scrymgeour, was hindered from coming. Three-minutes speeches on various topics were then given, and with debates on these the evening passed pleasantly and profitably.—J. A. SMART.

WOMEN WHO HAVE NO SUNDAYS.

In the course of an inquiry on Sunday trading carried out by the special commissioner of The Sunday-School Chronicle into the extent of Sunday trading in London he mentions in his report, amongst other facts, that a large number of women and girls were employed on Sunday:

number of women and girls were employed on Sunday:

One of my special objects of investigation on Sunday last
was to determine, as far as was possible, the number of people
employed behind the counters in the open shops, and to discover also how many were girls and young women. In some
businesses one found that members of the gentler sex were
largely used. There were few public-houses, for instance,
where there was no barmaid; girls were also employed in nearly
every one of the sweetshops and in many of the tobacconists,
at the open shops of the fruiterers, at the cash desk of nearly
every picture theatre, in the florist's, in the grocers and general
stores, in the news and stationery shops, and, of course, they were
far and away in the majority in the dining and refreshment
houses.

WOMEN JURORS IN AMERICA.

Governor Marion E. Hay, of Washington, has denied the petition from certain women of Sunnyside that he recommend to the Legislature a Bill exempting women

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

RESOLUTION AND DEBATE.

F Miss Muriel Matters has given us the following letter for publication. The resolution reached Mr. Asquith at the close of last Session, and consequently nothing more was heard of it.

Commonwealth of Australia, The Senate, Melbourne.

Commonwealth of Australia, The Senate, Melbourne.

My dear Miss Matters,—I trust that you have heard ere now of the motion I succeeded in getting before this House last week, and the gratifying support it received. I got Dr. Maloney to table the same resolution in the House of Representatives, but so far I do not think he has had any opportunity of bringing it forward. The form of this resolution was finally drawn up by Miss Vida Goldstein, as I thought it better after submitting draft resolutions to her that the women's point of view should be expressed, but I added the second clause providing for the resolution being cabled to your Prime Minister. I also deleted the word "patriotic" and substituted "far-seeing," as the word patriotism is put to so many base uses that I hate to use it. I have just posted you a copy of our "Hansard" which contains the debate, and have arranged at Miss Goldstein's wish to send copies to Miss Pankhurst, and to Chicago, Boston, New York, Holland, Denmark, and to the President National Union W. S. Societies, London—Mrs. Fawcett.

The only real point raised against the motion was the plea

Union W. S. Societies, London—Mrs. Fawcett.

The only real point raised against the motion was the plea of impertinent interference with the internal affairs of another community. However, with Home Rule, Chinese on the Rand, the Dogger Bank incident and the Coronation Oath as precedents, the objection fell very flat. Of course, I admit that is no answer to the point; but a valid one is that as all Colonial legislation is subject, or liable to be subject to the King's veto, and that means the veto of the Government in power, then the constitution of the Parliament—depending as it does upon the and that means the veto of the Government in power, then the constitution of the Parliament—depending as it does upon the nature of the Electoral laws—makes it a matter of real live importance to us to get a Government in Great Britain in sympathy and close touch with our ideals and aspirations.

I deferred replying to your kind letter from the ss. Runic until I was sure of getting a chance to carry the resolution. I sincerely trust that it will be of some slight service, and I am because the case of the street water that the the Suffrey has been selected.

I sincerely trust that it will be of some slight service, and I am pleased to see, at any rate, that the Suffrage has become a live political issue in British politics, and that even Asquith has promised to give time for dealing with it in the next Parliament. I suppose this sudden dissolution will somewhat dislocate your plans, but I notice already that things are becoming very lively. The depth of an English winter must be a dreadful time for a General Election, but may your cause come out

time for a General Election, but may your cause come out triumphant is my most sincere desire. I suppose the tales of violence and outrageous conduct cabled out about the "Suffragettes" are as misleading and unreliable as usually is the case regarding all growing movements. I would be glad if I had a reliable account to refer to when defending your cause.

Well, dear Miss Matters, I so much enjoyed your lecture on your experience in Holloway, and was so deeply impressed by your graphic pictures of some of the immates and the causes that brought them there, that I am fully convinced of the good use that will be made of the Suffrage when you get it, and I shall feel most grateful for any news of the progress of your movement.—Believe me with kindest regards, yours most sincerely.

ARTHUR RAE. Sincerely,
Glenosie, N.S.W., Australia, November 25, 1910.

Womanhood Suffrage. - Debate on Motion.

Senator RAE (New South Wales) [6.25].—I move—
1. That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Common-Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as to men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and, at the last Federal elections, the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of Defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting

2. That a copy of the foregoing resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister.

British Prime Minister.

I think that the greater number of the statements contained in the motion, which, I admit, is rather lengthy, are beyond serious contention. The latter part of it has been questioned, on the ground that it is a large order to urge that "all nations enjoying representative government would be well-advised in granting votes to women." I may mention incidentally that a similar motion has been given notice of in the other House. Some honourable senators felt rather touchy on the question of doing anything which might be thought to be in the nature of giving advice on an internal matter to the British Government. Thereto "all nations enjoying representative government." Inere-fore, the wider method of expressing the sentiment by referring to "all nations enjoying representative government" was deliberately chosen. I think that no honourable senator can now say that that objection can be fairly urged. A mere ex-pression of opinion is not by any means dictation. It would ill become any honourable senator to seriously urge that position,

seeing that on many occasions the Federal Parliament has seeing that on many occasions the Federal Parliament has expressed its opinion on very much more controversial matters. It would, indeed, be straining at a gnat after having swallowed a camel if such an objection were raised in this instance. No one can fairly urge that Womanhood Suffrage is a party question. It will be remembered that a few months ago, in the House of Commons, a Conciliation Committee, representative of all parties—Conservative, Liberal, Labour, and, I think, Home Rule—was formed, and that it agreed upon the substance of a measure granting Womanhood Suffrage. Of course, in the Old Country the question is tangled up in a way which does not obtain in the Commonwealth or the States. Here the principle of one man one vote was conceded many years ago, and obobtain in the Commonwealth or the States. Here the principle of one man one vote was conceded many years ago, and obviously it was only possible to grant the Suffrage to women on the same terms as it was held by men. But in Great Britain, owing to the property qualification and the relics of the Feudal system, there has been some measure of disagreement, not so much on the abstract justice of granting the franchise to women as on the question of whether it should be conceded to all women or to only those who are ratepayers, or how political power should be apportioned to them. No such question can arise with us. We are not asking that any special stand should be taken by the Senate as regards the details of any Suffrage proposal in the heart of the Empire. It is merely asked to state that in Australia the granting of the franchise to women on the same terms as to men has, though it met with some opposition at the outset, not given rise to serious criticism. And, that being the case, we are simply asking the Senate to affirm in being the case, we are simply asking the Senate to affirm in the broadest fashion that every nation enjoying representative government should give the franchise to women. I think that the time has gone by when an enlightened notice the time has gone by when an enlightened nation can contend that women are not the equals of men.

(Sitting suspended from 6.30 to 8 p.m.)

(Sitting suspended from 6.30 to 8 p.m.)

Senator RAE.—I am not unaware of the fact that there habeen some criticism of this proposal upon the ground that it seeks to dictate to the Imperial Parliament upon a matter of domestic legislation. One honourable senator opposite put the question to me in this way: "What would this Parliament say if the Imperial Parliament were to pass a resolution objecting to our Federal land tax? Do you think we would not resent any such resolution?" In reply I said, "Probably we would if one can imagine the Imperial Parliament being so foolish as to interfere in such a matter. But there is a wide difference between a question of internal taxation and a matter affecting human rights in their largest and most important aspect." between a question of internal taxation and a matter affecting human rights in their largest and most important aspect. The argument cannot fairly be advanced that this Parliament should not express its opinion upon matters of vital concern to it—especially when they are non-party matters—seeing that it has already expressed a most emphatic opinion upon questions which most acutely divide political parties in the Old Country. I need only refer to the resolution which it adopted in regard to the employment of Chinese on the Rand, to that which it affirmed in reference to the Dogger Bank incident during the progress of the Russo-Japanese War, to the motion which it passed in regard to Home Rule for Ireland, and to the opinion it expressed upon a question which is apt to rouse the strongest passed in regard to none kine for ireland, and to the opinion it expressed upon a question which is apt to rouse the strongest passions in political circles at Home—I mean the form of the Coronation Oath. When we reflect that all these are controversial matters upon which the British public is divided, honourable senators will be straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel if they object to my proposal upon that ground. It is true that the purpose of the motion is to intimate, in the most courteous terms, to our friends and blood relations in the Mother courteous terms, to our friends and blood relations in the Mother Country, that we are of opinion that the British Government, amongst others, will be well-advised if it extends the franchise to women. I am not concerned with the detailed objections which may be urged to the adoption of that course. We know that one of those objections is that the women of Great Britain outnumber the men by some millions, and that, consequently, they would reign if they fully availed themselves of the franchise. That is an undemocratic objection, and an absurd one, upon its That is an undemocratic objection, and an absurd one, upon its face, because we do not find that, upon matters of practical legislation, divisions of opinion are based on sex grounds. We do not find all the women voting upon one side in respect of any question submitted to the electors. Both women and men hold certain opinions, and are able to express them. It would not be wise for me to labour this motion, which I have brought forward in all sincerity. I trust that it will be carried, and that it will assist, in some measure, to settle this vexed question. It forward in all sincerity. I trust that it will be carried, and that it will assist, in some measure, to settle this vexed question. It is idle to say that any feeling will be aroused as the result of its adoption, because, in the first place, we know that the female Suffrage movement in Great Britain has progressed to such an extent that it is now admitted by all parties that the reform is within the region of practical politics. Only yesterday, the cable announced that it is a question of such importance that the present Government declare that it must be settled at a very early date to avoid serious embarrassment. When we find it coupled with the question of Home Rule, and with the Osborne judgment which affects trade unionists, we must admit that its settlement cannot be much longer delayed. One reason why it should be settled speedily is that, when once the reason why it should be settled speedily is that, when once the vote is granted on equal terms to women and men, a great political subject will have reached finality; and the road will

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be open to reform on other matters affecting the social and economic condition of the people. Therefore, the least that we can do is to send word to our kith and kin in Great Britain that we have found this great measure of freedom which has been granted to our women to work well in every particular; and that it has falsified every prediction which was urged against its acceptance. I trust, therefore, that honourable senators will unanimously support the proposal.

A lengthy discussion ensued, in which some senators seemed to think that it was outside the province of the Parliament of Australia.

Australia.
Senator Lynch (Western Australia) [8.38].—It is difficult to Senator Lynch (Western Australia) [8.38].—It is difficult to understand why there should be any serious opposition to this motion. It is entirely within the province of this Parliament to tender advice to other people. I do not suppose that any member of this Senate will dispute that for a moment.

Senator Lt.-Colonel Sir Albert Gould.—Private persons tendering advice that is not asked for sometimes receive a very rough rould.

rough reply.

Senator Lynch.—We have a perfect right to give this advice, though we may not be able to compel the people we

advise to accept it.

Senator Lt.-Colonel Sir Albert Gould.—I suppose the

Senator Ready.—In Tasmania, the members of the Legis-Senator Ready.—In Tasmania, the members of the Legislative Council, although they opposed Womanhood Suffrage very bitterly, do not dare to say anything about it now. In the portion of Tasmania in which I reside the women were told that their votes were worth having. Gatherings were organized, to which ladies who considered themselves superior to the common people invited the wives of working men. They also gave them social evenings, in order to win their votes. I heard of one instance in which ladies took cauliflowers and honey to the wives of the workers, and told them that they owed too much to their husbands to allow the Labour party to be put into power, for if this eventuated there would be no work for them, as capital would leave the country. The persons who took round these cauliflowers evidently had a large number to spare. Probably they were cheap. I know of another instance in which a meeting was held, at which the women folk were provided with coffee and buns. I do not know whether they were bath-buns. To the credit of a good many of the women, they rose in a body and walked out of the building. They refused to be bribed by these social favours. I am pleased to be able to say that, despite all these attempts to win the women's vote in Tasmania, the Labour party in that State captured six out of eight seats at the recent Federal elections. In Hobart the women evidenced a great deal more interest in politics than did the men. We must, further, remember In Hobart the women evidenced a great deal more interest in politics than did the men. We must, further, remember that their brand of politics must be pure.

As the result of the advent of women into the political arena,

At the conclusion of the debate the motion was put in parts Question: That paragraph 1 be agreed to-resolved in the

affirmative. Question: That paragraph 2, "That a copy of the foregoing resolution be cabled to the British Prime Minister," be agreed to—put. The Senate divided.

..

SWEATING EAST AND WEST.

Breaches of the Factory Laws are very frequent in the East-end and the West-end, but are not always found out. We quote the following cases from the Daily Express, where fifteen hours a day was exacted from girls too poor to resent the sweating habits of these "Court" dressmakers and East-end clothiers. How important it is to inquire into the conditions under which garments are made, when buying them, is becoming daily more apparent :-

"This is a bad case,' said the magistrate at the Marlborough street Police Court yesterday in fining Mesdames Louise and Melville, Court dressmakers of Maddox-street, Regent-street, £9 for working four girls at illegal hours.

"Two of the girls worked from 9 a.m. to 11.40 p.m., and two from 9 a.m. to 12.15 a.m. in order to finish a dress for an American customer. They lived a long way from the workshop, and could not reach home much before 1 a.m.

"It was alleged that all of them had since been dismissed for answering the questions of a factory inspector truthfully."

In another issue we find it stated that "ceaseless efforts

In another issue we find it stated that "ceaseless efforts are made by women factory inspectors to prevent the sweating of women and girls, but their numbers are quite inadequate-there are only seventeen women inspectors for more than 1,500,000 women and girl workers in the factories and workshops of the United Kingdom-and the evil continues almost unchecked.

An example of the difficulties under which the inspectors work was afforded at the Thames Police-court yesterday, when Solomon Levy, of Commercial-road, was summoned for obstructing two inspectors.

We called at Levy's house in the early morning (said Miss Muirhead Patterson, deputy principal lady inspector) and saw lights in the workshop. We repeatedly knocked for admission, and atter a quarter of an hour a window was opened and someone asked what we wanted. When I replied that we were factory inspectors the window was closed.

We continued knocking, and after a time a woman admitted us. We found a number of men at work in the workroom, and in a room on the first floor were a woman and girl.

I told Levy that I had reasons to believe the girl did not live there, and he replied that she was staying with someone who lodged in the house. A summons was taken out against him, but he failed to answer it, and a warrant for his arrest was obtained.

obtained.

"Levy was fined £8, with the alternative of a month's imprisonment.'

The manager of the Home-Workers' Aid Association, who has 2,000 women home-workers on his books, has been appealing to those who have work to give out for the approaching coronation to do so as early as possible to relieve the undue strain upon these people.

In almost every employment which has large numbers of women-workers there is that same spirit of oppression; the home-worker is not alone in her need.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

A very successful drawing-room meeting was held on January 10, at 11, Gainsborough-gardens, Hampstead, by kind invitation of Mrs. Weaver. The speakers showed how tax resistance was a logical and effective protest against the violation of the Constitution which is perpetrated by taxing women without allowing them representation. Mrs. Hicks stated that for eighteen years she had paid taxes and fulfilled the other responsibilities of citizenship, and now was determined to secure recognition from the State. Mrs. Kineton Parkes dealt with the practical questions involved, and showed how the League could help its members by expert advice. She pointed out that, as the law stands to-day, married women are not personally liable for taxes, and it is hoped that they will refuse to pay this illegal exaction any longer. Mrs. Brailsford was in the chair, and Mrs. Fagan made an effective appeal for funds.

FREE CHURCH FEDERATION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Free Church Federation for Woman Suffrage has formed or is forming branches at Croydon, Brighton, Anerley, Battersea, Burnley, Worthing, and North London. Will any prospective helpers or members in these districts send in their names through the general corresponding secretary, Miss Hatty Baker, at above address? A local meeting is to be held at Croydon, in the Lecture Room at the Public Hall, on Tuesday, 24th inst., Miss Leon and Mrs. Sambrook being speakers.

A general public meeting is also being arranged at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, E.C., when Dr. Clifford hopes to be present. Further particulars later on.

FREE OPINIONS FREELY EXPRESSED.

*** In this column we publish, as far as space permits. the views of our readers on any subject of interest to members without favour and without prejudice. Only matter coming within the scope of the law of libel will be barred. 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, however, that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions so expressed.

Mrs. Billington-Greig Explains Her Position. To the Editor of THE VOTE.

Dear Madam,-With your kind permission I desire to give your readers a few words of explanation in regard to my resignation. I ceased at the end of December to be a member of the Freedom League or an official writer to The Vote, and I wish to touch briefly upon some of the reasons which determined my course of action.

Membership of any society organised for a particular purpose entails positive action and negative limitation. Some one thing has to be done; some other things have to be left undone, sacrificed to the one thing that is to be made predominant. Most active women of wide interests recognised from the beginning that the militant suffrage movement called for greater sacrifices and more sacrifices in the way of limitation than were commonly asked or justified. But militancy as a revolutionary force promised so much more besides the "vote;" it asked that the claims made did not seem to be extravagant. I accepted this view for a long time, but I do not now accept it. I think the sacrifices asked are neither good nor necessary, nor legitimate, and I cannot continue to make them.

There were two objects of militancy: the smaller one was the early winning of the Parliamentary vote; the greater one was the assertion of the woman's right to be herself, the undermining of the custom, habit, and convention, which bar the way to the real emancipation of women. It was for this greater object that I worked. The "vote" was but a tool in my eyes. But now I am convinced, first, that in some ways the greater emancipation of women is being sacrificed to the haste for immediate enfranchisement; and, second, that I can do better work for this greater end, and use my powers to greater advantage as a free-lance feminist than as a member of the Freedom League. Hence my resignation.

I think that the movement has allowed itself to be narrowed, lowered, and exploited: that it has been dragged down to the same political level as that set by men politicians, and so constantly condemned by women suffragists; that it has ceased to be governed by reason and conviction, and has yielded itself up to emotion; and that it is now tending to produce in women the same evil of sex-opinionation that we have suffered from so long in men. The Freedom League has not been originally responsible for these abuses, but it has succumbed to them, and many of its members who have drifted into acquiescence with them ought to be devoting themselves to the greater and more fundamental issues which are now evaded and forgotten.

I leave dear friends in the Freedom League, and I shall not cease to remember with warm feelings the many willing workers and tender and heroic souls with whom my work in the League has brought me in contact. I leave them because I cannot otherwise be true to myself, cannot otherwise express myself freely, cannot otherwise do work which it is necessary for me to do. My decision is made, and my boats are burned behind me. And although I know my action will be regretted, and, perhaps, condemned, I believe that it

regretted, and, permandis right.—Yours truly,
TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG. The Myth, High Possil, S.O. Bishopbriggs, by Glasgow. January 11, 1911.

[We offer no comment on Mrs. Billington-Greig's letter, but should our readers wish to express their opinions in the matter, our columns are open to them.—Ed. The Vote.]

GIRL WAGE-EARNERS.

Miss Constance Smith, a member of the Industrial Law Committee, speaking recently on girls as wageearners, made some interesting statements. She said that the girl in industry was an increasing factor—that they were going into industry younger and younger, until, as one of the lady inspectors said, some of the factories looked more like schools. "In our own country," she said, "the proportion of wage-earners among women of all ages was something over one-third. Of girls between sixteen and twenty years, sixty-six out of every 100 were earning their living in some fashion or other. Between twenty and twentyfive the proportion dropped to fifty-six, and between twenty-five and thirty it was down to thirty per hundred. It then dropped rapidly, but rose again after fifty, largely in consequence of widows re-entering the labour market." The evils of this tendency, she said, were the lowering of wages, the ousting of older people, the straining of the girls' health at a very susceptible age, the greater liability to accident and the moral danger. Of girl shop assistants, who were nominally under the Truck Act, Miss Smith said that as a matter of fact the Act was very largely a dead letter so far as they were concerned, in consequence of the fact that so many of them "lived in." Speaking of a case which came under her own notice, she said the girls had bread and dripping three times a day, and six of them slept in one large bed.

It is to be hoped that when the Shops Bill becomes law the evils of the living-in system—evils which bear mostly on the women-will be abolished. Employers regard women in the industrial world, with the exception of the cotton trade, merely as beasts of burden, with this difference—that they are more easily replaced.

NEW PRIZE COMPETITION.

Have you any ideas for increasing the circulation of THE VOTE? If so, send them on to us and you have an opportunity of having your copy posted to you for a year or a half-year free. We propose offering each month two prizes, the first of a year's (value 6s. 6d.), and the second of six months' (value 3s. 3d.) subscription to THE VOTE, to the persons sending in the two best suggestions during the month for increasing sales. The suggestions will be judged by the directors, whose decision will be final. Suggestions for the first competition should reach the office not later than February 26.

A CORRESPONDENT in The Morning Leader, commenting on the fact revealed by the recent census that in Paris 55 per cent. of all workers are women, says :-

The fact is a most significant one, and formed a very useful point for M. Dussaussoy when he laid before the Chambre des Députés a very powerful case for the granting of the municipal franchise to Frenchwomen. In the same report it was sapiently asked, if Frenchwomen could vote on workmen's councils as workwomen, or on University convocations as University women, why should they as ratepayers not vote on municipalities? To which in England the corollary might be added, why should they not as taxpayers and law-abiders vote for Par

THE Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Associa THE Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association (48, Dover-street, Piccadily) have arranged three large afternoon meetings at the Curzon Hotel, Mayfair, on Tuesdays, January 24, February 21, March 21, when Lady Willoughby de Broke, Lady Rayleigh, and Lady Knightley of Fawsley have kindly consented to preside. A series of small "At Homes" will also be held at the Curzon Hotel on Tuesday afternoons, February 7, 14, 28, March 7, 14, 28, and April 4 and 11. These little "At Homes" are arranged for the purpose of giving our members an opportunity of sending cards to any friends who are likely to be interested in the work of this Association, and who wish to discuss the question of Women's Suffrage and who wish to discuss the question of Women's Suffrage

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS. LONDON.



DARE TO BE

Thurs., Jan. 19.—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, Sir John Cockburn.

Fri., Jan. 20.—1, Robert-street, 7 p.m. Central London Branch, members' meeting.

Central London Branch, memoers meeting.

Open-air meeting—weather permitting—at corner of Amhurst Park, at 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Wheatley.

Mon.,Jan.23.—3.30 p.m., The Hermitage, Croydon-road. Miss Fennings.

Tues.,Jan.24.—Acton, 8 p.m. Miss Tite.
1, Robert-street, 7 p.m. Central London Branch, members' meeting.
Finchley, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn. London Branch, members' meeting.
Finchley, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn.
3 p.m., Battersea Shop, 316, Battersea
Park-road. Mrs. Despard.
"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches,
3.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss Manning,
B.A.

Thurs. Jan. 26 .-

Fri. Jan. 27.—1, Robert-street. National Executive Committee, 11 a.m.
Caxton Hall, 8 p.m. Vote meeting, members only. Chair: Mrs. How Martyn.
Sat., Jan. 28.—Caxton Hall, 10 a.m. Annual Conference of Branches

Branches

Branches.

Sun., Jan.

29.—Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Reception to delegates.
Reserved seats, ls.
1, Robert-street, Adelphi, 11 a.m. National
Executive Committee.

1.—Gothic House, Stoke Newington. Whist
Drive and Dance.

Sat., Feb.

4.—S.W. London Propaganda Centre, Jumble
Sale. Please send contributions to Mrs
Sutcliffe, 58, Sisters-avenue, Clapham
Common. Common.

Sun., Feb. 5.—1, Robert-street, Members' Social Meeting, 4 to 7 p.m. Mrs. Despard.

PROVINCES. Thurs., Jan. 19.—L.W.S.S., Royal Hotel, 3 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn. Chair: Dr. Mary Bell.

WOLVERHAMPTON.
Miss Neilans.

SITTINGBOURNE. 20.—Trinity Hall. Miss Fennings.

URMSTON, NEAR MANCHESTER.

Hughenden's Rooms, Flixton-road, 8 p.m.
Lantern lecture on Florence Nightingale.

Fri., Jan. 20.—Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Francis, 8 p.m. Eccles.

Sat., Jan. 21.—King-street Mission, Eccles, 3 p.m. Eccles Branch Jumble Sale.

CHELTENHAM.

Fri., Jan. 20.—Miss Neilans.

Mon., Jan. 23.—Town Hall, Cheltenham, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans, Mrs. Despard.

Sale, Near Manchester.

Tamparanea Rooms, Cross-street, 8 p.m.

Temperance Rooms, Cross-street, 8 p.m. Sale Branch Whist Drive.

Sun., Jan. 22.—6.30 p.m., Labour Hall, Dudley. A Sproson on the Revolt of Woman. DUDLEY

Manchester. Wed., Jan. 25. -Congregational School, Levenshulme, 8 p.m. Chair: Rev. W. Fry. Speakers: Miss Neal, Miss Janet Heyes.

SCOTLAND.

Fri., Jan. 20.—Alexandra - parade, Primitive Methodist Church. Speaker: Miss Shennan. Sat, Jan. 21.—Scottish Council Meeting, 3 p.m. All W.F.L. members are invited to hear the discussion, and to meet the delegates from the other branches.

Mon., Jan. 23.—8 p.m., Partick Youths' Own Hall, Partick West. Speaker: Miss Gibson.

EDINBURGH.

Tues., Jan. 24.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 4 p.m. Speaker: Miss Marguerite

Sidley.

Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. Branch meeting, 8 p.m. "Josephine Butler, Miss McLaren. Wed., Jan. 25,-

WALES.

CARDIFF.
Fri., Jan. 20.—Royal Hotel, 7 p.m. Mrs. Cleeves.
CALDICOTT.
Sat., Jan. 21.—Ivy Lodge, 2.30 p.m. Mrs. Cleeves.

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