

# THE VOTE

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

VOL. II.—No. 48.

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ONE PENNY.

## NOTICE.

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## EDITORIAL.

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## WHAT WE THINK.

### Mr. Shackleton and the Bill.

Speaking at Sheffield during the week Mr. Shackleton expressed doubt as to the chances of the Conciliation Bill being carried into law this Session. But we are not daunted by this. Mr. Shackleton knows that his Committee has faced and overcome one set of obstacles after another ever since the Bill was projected. There were days of dejection and depression before the Bill reached its Second Reading stage. Some pessimists argued that it would never get a Second Reading. The Prime Minister refused facilities for the Second Reading. Even when the Government concession of two days was assured there were not wanting those who declared that the Bill would be defeated, that, indeed, the time was only given on the distinct understanding that the Bill was to be defeated. All these prophecies and obstacles are now behind us, and as they have been falsified and overcome so can the present ones be. There is no doubt about this: the obstacles between us and success are no more insurmountable and no more conclusive than those overcome already in the earlier stages of the Conciliation Committee's efforts.

While Mr. Shackleton's temporary pessimism does not commend itself to us, we do not desire to underestimate the forces against us. The strong man within the Cabinet would at any time be a formidable foe, but just now, when the unconstitutional dominance of the Cabinet has attained its greatest pretensions, he is a grave danger. It is bad enough that the Cabinet should be able to veto the recorded will of the House; it is much worse that an admitted minority of that body should exercise the veto. This unconstitutional procedure has become a grave menace to representative government. The Liberal Party will do well, for its own sake, to check it while there is yet time. At present the claim for the supremacy of the Commons in national affairs is rendered ridiculous, because in practice it means nothing more nor less than the supreme dictatorship of a small group of the non-elected inner council of the party in power. Meanwhile we must make up our minds to see this Bill carried into law. The Prime Minister has yielded to pressure in the past; he must be made to yield again in the present. Even secret cabals cannot stand for ever against progress.

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### The Printing Dispute.

The printing dispute has ended with a victory of doubtful honour for the men, who have secured the exclusion of all new women learners for a period of six years, the manipulation of all keyboards installed during the period by men, and a half of all the making-up done in the workshops. This means that, while the present women operators are to be tolerated, the trade is henceforth to be closed to women. The pretence that the prohibition is only to last until the number of women is reduced to fair proportions is scarcely deserving of mention. As the present women compositors fall out by marriage, death, or other causes, they will be replaced by men. In this way the men's hands will be strengthened, and by the close of the period of exclusion they will be the better able to secure that "ultimate total exclusion of women" from the trade which was admitted as the object of the agitation before expediency suggested the use of hypocritical whitewash.

The men tried to cover their fight with some rags of social justification, and failed miserably. The climax was reached when one speaker pointed out to the women that "the employers had promised that the improvement in the lot of the women would be no less than the improvement in the lot of the men." The question as to how exclusion and limitation were to improve the lot of women does not appear to have been asked. We ask it now, and challenge any working printer to give us a satisfactory reply. We ask another question, equally pertinent. Why are the men's concessions of improvement embodied in a definite agreement, solemnly accepted and signed by both employers and employed, while the women's fate is left in the vague region of doubtful and secret capitalist promises? We shall be glad to receive an answer, and meanwhile we advise all women in the printing trade to become Suffragettes.

### The Declining Birth-rate.

The *British Medical Journal*, in its last number, discusses the question of medicine as a profession, and decides that for the general practitioner it does not pay. Reasons are given for this conclusion with most of which we have no special concern, but we are glad to observe that the coming of women into the profession is not introduced as one of the guilty causes. But if the medical women escape, women as a whole do not, for amongst the causes quoted for the present bad condition and the worse prospects of the medical profession is the decline in the birth-rate. The clause deserves to be quoted in full. The article says the decline of medicine as a profession is due to "the lowered birth-rate, which has fallen to 26.3 per 1000. This has had a dual effect. There are not only fewer confinements but fewer babies for medical men to attend." We are quite willing to admit this, and, further, to admit the bearing of this factor upon the doctor's income; but we are not willing to admit that this gives the doctor any right to preach the doctrine of large families. We go further, and say that it does not justify the medical profession in encouraging the coming of unfit children into the world, and in failing to warn women unfit for motherhood. No doubt from a monetary point of view medical practitioners have reason for a little private grumbling. But there are more important issues at stake; and the well-being of the doctor cannot be made dependent on the continuance of unhealthy and unwilling motherhood.

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### PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

#### Members' Meetings.

The proposed holding of members' meetings weekly has met with a hearty welcome. It is generally felt that this will be a means of increasing the interest and enthusiasm of workers. In London, in particular, we have many unattached members who will in this way be brought into touch with local branch activities, and thus local endeavour will be strengthened. All London branch secretaries are reminded that the first Members' Meeting will be inaugurated by Mrs. Despard on the 7th of next month, at 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, at 7.30 p.m.

#### Mass Meeting and Joint Demonstration.

On the following Saturday, October 8th, at 3 p.m., we shall hold the London Joint Demonstration in Trafalgar Square. This is to be one of our principal contributions to the public agitation, which all the Suffrage Societies are keeping up with a view to bringing pressure to bear on the Government, and so securing facilities for the Suffrage Bill in the present Session of Parliament. The success of the Demonstration will depend largely upon the initiative and energy of our members. If it is to have any effect at all, it must be a success quite out of the ordinary, and I ask for volunteers to help in organising it.

#### The Vote" Girl.

Every member knows how necessary to the League is the success of THE VOTE, and all will be interested in the progress of "THE VOTE Girl" Campaign, which is being commenced in Highgate, and subsequently will be organised throughout London and the provinces. The first prizes will be distributed on October 2nd. Meanwhile, those willing to assist should communicate with "THE VOTE Girl" at the Head Offices.

#### Suffrage Atelier.

Our artists of the Suffrage Atelier, who have always helped us and other Suffrage Societies so effectively with their art, are now holding a Market Fête on their own account at 1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, Kensington, on October 21st and 22nd, which is bound to be most interesting and delightful. Tickets are 6d. each, and may be obtained from this office. It should also be noted that the W.F.L. is taking a stall for the sale of sweets, and contributions to this will be received gladly by Mrs. Fisher, who has kindly taken over the arrangements.

#### W.F.L. Day.

Among the interesting forthcoming events is the holding of our annual W.F.L. Day on October 28th. Meetings will be held throughout the country on this anniversary of the birth of THE VOTE, the "Grille" Demonstration, and the Bermondsey Protest. In London a Reception and Meeting will be held at the Small Queen's Hall, and our speakers will include Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Miss Lawson, our capable and indefatigable VOTE Manager. Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans will represent the Bermondsey Protest, and it is hoped that Miss Matters will return from Australia in time to represent the "Grille" Demonstration. Delegates to the Conference on the following day will no doubt attend in force. All members desiring tickets (at 1s. each) are asked to apply for them promptly.

#### Caxton Hall "At Homes."

These will start on November 3rd.

#### Mrs. Despard's Lecture on Shelley ("Prometheus Unbound").

Mrs. Despard will lecture on Shelley ("Prometheus Unbound") at the Small Queen's Hall on November 6th. Great interest is being taken in this by other Societies and

by the general public; members are therefore urged to apply for tickets immediately, otherwise they may be unable to procure them.

#### Meetings.

Every branch must show a good record of successful meetings during the next few weeks. As one of the great Suffrage Societies looming large in the public eye, we must assert ourselves to prove even to the most casual observer that there is no slackness in our resolves. No one serves the Cause by simply giving her name as a member, and then forgetting and ignoring the work. Every woman should feel that it is her effort which is necessary to circumvent and break down the obstinacy of Mr. Asquith, that it is what she can do which will defeat Lord Curzon of Kedleston and the reaction for which he stands. This is a soldiers' battle, and the responsibility rests on each one of us.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

#### CARAVAN TOUR.

Wolverton has enormous railway works, and is built on utilitarian lines, quite a contrast to our last halting-place, Newport Pagnell. Our experience there was also a contrast. To quote from the *Northampton Echo*:—

"SCENES AT WOLVERTON.—Two representatives of the Women's Freedom League had an unpleasant experience in Wolverton Market Square on Monday evening. Immediately one of the ladies commenced to speak a bad apple hit her in the face, and several missed her by inches only. A lively time ensued, and a window was broken and several people were hit in the face with missiles. The occupier of the house, by the aid of the police, had the ladies removed to the other side of the square, where another exhibition of horseplay was given by the crowd."

As a matter of fact there were more stones than anything else amongst the missiles, and we were escorted by the bodyguard which had surrounded us during our attempted meeting up into the Institute near and out at the back door. Then we scaled the churchyard wall, got into a back street, and reached our van in safety. On our reappearance in the town on Wednesday evening we were immediately followed by a gang of boys, large and small, who pelted us so severely with all sorts of hard missiles that our hair combs were broken despite large hats and motor veils.

After passing through such a sharp fire we took refuge in the railway station until meeting time, but the mob continued to await us outside, and nobody came to disperse it. Unfortunately we had to move on the next day, and so had not time to teach Wolverton prospective electors how to behave, which would have taken a week; so we refused to stand up again to be their target, and made our escape from the valiant young men of Wolverton by crossing the railway lines and climbing down the embankment. And yet a Wolverton man told us that *women are protected by men!*

We left next morning early for Buckingham. The *Buckingham Express* says:—"Two ladies connected with the Women's Freedom League have been located in the borough during the past few days, paying a visit in connection with the van campaign of the organisation. On Thursday evening a considerable crowd, numbering some 500 or 600 persons, gathered in the Market Square, when Miss Sidley, one of the most capable propagandists of the principles of 'Votes for Women,' gave a stirring address, which was listened to with rapt interest."

We were again well received on Friday and Saturday nights; the latter being market day the crowds numbered about twice as many as the first evening.

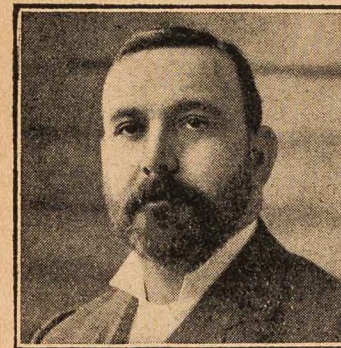
M. HENDERSON.

#### THE PAGEANT.

On Saturday, the 24th inst., two performances of the Pageant, at 3 and 8 p.m., will be given at Beckenham Town Hall, and every member in the neighbourhood should try to attend. London members should bear in mind that Beckenham is easily accessible from Victoria, Charing Cross, and London Bridge. It will be a splendid performance. Please refer to advertisement on last page of cover.

## THE CABINET AND VOTES FOR WOMEN.

SPEECH BY MR. SHACKLETON.



MR. SHACKLETON, M.P., CLITHEROE.

Mr. Shackleton, M.P., spoke at an "At Home" of the Women's Social and Political Union at Sheffield on September 12th. He said he considered it an honour to have been asked to introduce the Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons, and he stated that it was his view that the House of Commons would never go back on the stand it had taken in supporting the measure by a majority of over 100. His firm conviction was that the women's question was in a better position in this country to-day than it had ever been. "We have friends in every party in the State. Our own strong party is unanimously with you. (Applause.) There certainly is the majority of the Liberal Party with you, not a bad minority in the Conservative Party, and, I think, a fairly satisfactory vote comes from the Irishmen."

To speak on the merits of the question Mr. Shackleton declared a waste of time, because he had never heard anything against it that was worth replying to. They were just passing through considerable trouble in the trades union world. One of the little incidents out of the many was happening at Cradley Heath. Was it right that the women of Cradley Heath should not be permitted to express their view politically at an election, if an alteration of any law was necessary which affected women under such terrible conditions as they were in? Those women had to depend entirely upon the persuasion they had to use upon the men in that and other districts where the terrible business was going on. The cause stood so high from the point of view of argument that they need not fear any possibility of it being much further delayed. There was only one difficulty. They were told by the Prime Minister that he had not a united Cabinet on the matter. They might change the Ministry, and another Prime Minister could say the same. Well, the representatives of the people, apart altogether from the women's question, had seriously to grapple with a position like that, which might affect any subject. The electorate of the people could be thwarted by a divided Cabinet on many subjects, and it was a serious issue.

#### Cabinet Dissension.

"Cabinets will have to be governed, like other organisations, by the majority. (Applause.) We cannot further put off an important issue, whether it is Women's Suffrage or any other, because the Cabinet of the day cannot altogether come into line. If the elected of the people in the House of Commons say it is desirable that a certain reform should take place—well, Cabinet rule must end, and representative government should come in its place. (Applause.) I, for one, am not prepared to listen longer to the argument that it is dangerous for the solidarity of the Cabinet that this or any other matter should be brought forward at the present juncture."

Mr. Shackleton told his audience that the power of the Vote in electoral campaigns was exactly the power of the cash in negotiations with the employers. (Applause.) Trade unions knew that. The question of woman's equality with men in intellectual spheres was also dealt with, and the Labour Member declared that wherever the Parliamentary Franchise had been extended to women, temperance reform had grown faster because of it. If for no other reason, he wanted to see women exercising that healthy influence in our Parliamentary elections on temperance, social, and other issues. (Applause.)

## THE FATAL FIRE AT BRIXTON.

Surely this last terrible example of the utterly inadequate protection given to shop assistants will bring about some much-needed reforms in the conditions of the living-in system. Condemnation of it is practically unanimous by all social reformers, and yet legislation has not moved effectively in the matter. It is a well-known fact that sufficient space, light, and fresh air are scarcely ever given in the rooms of drapers' assistants; the upper floors of old buildings, utterly unsuitable for the purpose, are converted into bedrooms, and five or six persons will be put into a small, ill-lighted, ill-ventilated apartment to sleep, over a veritable powder-mine of highly inflammable drapery-stock, arranged in wooden drawers and fixtures.

The Brixton fire was a striking example of these dangers, one girl losing her life and four others being seriously injured in the outbreak which occurred on Sunday morning, September 11th. As representative of THE VOTE I attended the recent inquest, and had an opportunity of going over the burnt premises. I also interviewed one of the rescued girls, and found that ten girls were accommodated in three small rooms, one room having no window and being lighted only by a skylight ten feet from the floor, and therefore inaccessible, the only means of escape provided being a fire chute, which, according to the girls' statements, had not been tested in the last four years, and in the use of which they had received no instruction. When the most frantic women found all escape cut off by the stairs they threw out the chute and found it useless owing to a projecting hanging sign on the floor below which would not permit of its free descent to the street. Being scorched and almost suffocated, Miss Lattimore (a niece of a well-known member of the W.F.L.—Mrs. Harbord, of Tottenham) jumped from the window, and died almost immediately, being followed by three others, who were severely injured. The fire brigade then came up and rescued the girls still in the room. Although this was the third fire within a month, and every girl was terrified to sleep on the premises, apparently no legislation exists to compel due care being taken to prevent loss of life in this way.

As Mrs. Harbord says, "For my niece I can do nothing, but the law must be made to act for all the thousands of other shop assistants who live under these dangerous conditions." Like all other women, Mrs. Harbord is voteless, and it may be suggested that the reason why the Shop Assistants' Union finds it so difficult to get legislation either to abolish the living-in system or to reform it effectively is because they are working for a *voteless* class of men and women, even male shop assistants being unable to qualify under the existing test, because they live in.

Every member of the Women's Freedom League will feel the deepest sympathy with Mr. and Mrs. Harbord in their loss, and it is to be hoped that out of the sad circumstances in which their niece met her terrible death, there will arise a determined agitation to make the Parliamentary machine move effectively in the matter before other valuable lives are needlessly sacrificed.

A. NEILANS.

#### ARCHDEACON VESEY ON CO-EDUCATION.

In opening a co-educational school at Fletton last week, Archdeacon Vesey said that slackness was engrained in the average English boy. Put that boy, however, in the same form with girls, and he would exert himself as he never did before to avoid being beaten by a girl. Anyone who had observed the sentimentality, the silly giggling of the now rapidly disappearing boarding-school miss, would acknowledge how great was the improvement which a more healthy tone and hearty games had brought about. The modern grammar-school girl, cycling to school in her straw hat, with her hair streaming in the wind, was a different order of being from her predecessor, and it was good that she who might be destined for a Colonial life should lay the foundation of a strong constitution.



## MRS. ETHEL H. STEWART.

There is at present in London an American feminist, Mrs. Ethel H. Stewart, who is making a study of the conditions relating to women's work in this country. Mrs. Stewart was one of those who in the great shirt-waist makers' strike in New York last November came out to support the strikers and helped to form the Shirt-waist Company, of which she was elected President, and which, in the event of the strike continuing, would have proved a powerful engine in the war against the employers.

"The American women are supposed to be the queens," said Mrs. Stewart, in the course of a brief interview, "but as far as the great mass of working women are concerned they are queens only on paper, and for this reason we are seeking enfranchisement. Though the Suffrage movement had existed for thirty or forty years in America, until the arrival of Mrs. Borrmann Wells it had amounted only to a few annual dinners, where a number of ladies in diamonds and elegant gowns talked of the rights of the working woman, and were given a small paragraph in the newspaper to show that Suffrage was still in existence. Mrs. Borrmann Wells founded the pioneer militant Suffrage movement by inaugurating the National Suffrage Society. This was the first Suffrage society whose members spoke at street corners. The most representative women joined it, its members included professional women of every kind,

typists, and factory workers, and one of the best speakers was a woman lawyer—Miss Mary Coleman. Notable women, including Mme. Alma Webster Powell, Miss Maxime Elliott, Mrs. Clarence Mackay, and Mme. Nordica, announced their feminist convictions; columns and snapshots began to appear daily in the Press; Dorothy Dix and Ella Wheeler Wilcox joined the ranks of the writers; and from coast to coast the activities spread. 'Parlour' meetings were no longer the principal means of propaganda even amongst the elder Suffrage societies, and all the earnest speakers went on the 'stump'!"

"You think that these activities will lead to speedy results?"

"I have no doubt that we shall have the Vote in America before 1912, and that then it will come for all women. The other States will come into line with Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. The parties who will help in the freeing of the women will hope to gain by it, but the same hope will inspire the freeing of women in every country."

"And the first aim of the American woman citizen?"

"To improve the conditions of women's labour and to bring the employer of sweated labour to the knowledge

of the iniquities that he is perpetrating. Child labour is employed in America from the age of three, and children begin earning when mere babies, some of them working at flower making at the rate of 100 flowers for a cent in their homes. Others of them sew hooks and eyes on cards, the elder child sewing the hooks while the younger puts on the eyes. The home workers, both parents and children, live under conditions as bad as, if not worse, than those of the home workers in the East-end of London. The women, both in the factories and out of them, are disgracefully treated, and there are innumerable devices to cheat the factory laws. It was owing to some of these that the shirt-waist makers came out on strike."

"Are strikes of women workers usual in America?"

"No. That of the shirt-waist makers was the first big strike, and it came about in a curious way. It was 'called' by a little seventeen-year-old girl. There had been growing discontent with trade conditions for a long time, owing to the sub-contracting and other evils. A girl whose pay-sheet, on being shown to the factory inspector, amounted to ten dollars a week, would really only receive a small portion of this, as it included the pay of a number of other girls to whom the work was farmed out. A meeting at the Cooper Union Hall was held to consider this and other conditions of work and their possible remedies, and it was reluctantly decided that though a strike might be beneficial, the time was not yet ripe for it. A young girl who, like the other girls in the room, had been writhing under the gross ill-usage, the swearing, and ill-treatment to which the workers were subjected, rose up and cried: 'Let's strike now!'"

"When the strike was called there were only about 150 girls in the union out of thirty or forty thousand who ultimately went on strike. Of these thousands 75 per cent. were foreigners, and the union had the greatest difficulty both in organising and in giving strike pay. But the women of every class—particularly the college girls—came to their rescue and helped them in picketing the different factories. Miss Inez Milholland and Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont also supported the strikers, helping in every possible way. Mrs. Belmont's appearance on the scene marked the advent of a practical Suffragist and at the same time an enormously wealthy woman. She helped in organising great meetings at the Hippodrome and the Carnegie Hall, for the hire of which she paid, where those who had been sent to jail and the work-house during the picketing were on the platform. The various unions—both men's and women's—were called upon to help, and all kinds of spectacular schemes were used to direct attention to the strike and to get funds to



MRS. ETHEL H. STEWART.

[Photo, F. Lauson Taylor, 443, West Strand, W.C.]



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support the girls during their time of stress. The *New York Evening Journal* and the *New York Call* brought out special strike editions, which were sold by the girls in the streets, and the proceeds, amounting to many thousands of dollars, given to the strike fund. The Wellesley College girls ordered 1000 shirt-waists from the strikers; other colleges, including the women of Columbia University, also helped.

"The girls eventually won the day, and their success probably gave an impetus to some of the more recent labour struggles. A successful strike always has an encouraging effect upon sweated labour, and makes the dishonest employer, who may not have been directly attacked, uneasy. At the present moment a great strike of the mantle makers is in progress, but it is impeded by the recent decision that picketing is illegal."

"You think that this uprising of women against sweat-ing is part of the Suffrage movement?"

"It is one of the waves of the incoming women's tide, and it shows at least how far more pitiful are the conditions against which women revolt—and revolt with much suffering—compared with those which have caused the working man to rebel since he has been enfranchised. The very fact that the poorest and most oppressed women can dislocate industry proves that the feminist movement is growing in strength and is encouraging hope amongst those who have suffered most at the hands of the male employer."

"What difference will the women's Vote make in elections when American women are enfranchised?"

"The women will not vote for a man because he belongs to a certain party or is run by a certain caucus. Instead, the free man who stands for principle and fair conditions of life for everybody in the State will have his chance. Principle, and not party, will guide the women's Vote."

Mrs. Stewart, who is covering every inch of the industrial and social ground of Englishwomen's work while in London with an enthusiasm and a desire for exact details which is truly American, is one of the founders of the Co-operative Peace Society of New York, is President of the Women's Municipal Ownership League, and is also a member of the Political Equality League, the League of Self-Supporting Women, and the American Legislative Union of Brooklyn. M. O. KENNEDY.

### RECRUITING FOR THE MEN'S LEAGUE.

Condorcet, who complained that the women of the eighteenth century would not forgive him for championing them, should be alive to-day. Since the issue of his essay, the publication of Mill's "Subjection of Women" and the formation of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage in 1907, would prove to him that championing women's rights has not gone out of vogue. The constantly increasing demands from the feminine Women's Suffrage Societies for speakers and stewards from the Men's League would convince even Condorcet, if not of gratitude, at least of complete forgiveness.

Opposition of the more violent and abusive kind is fast yielding to the influence of such humorists as Sydney Smith, Bernard Shaw, and Zangwill; such imaginative writers as Balzac, Hugo, Ibsen, Meredith, and Hardy; such philosophic Radicals as Mill, Holyoake, and Cobden; such patriotic idealists as Lincoln and Mazzini; such medical authorities as Horsley and Maudesley.

The attitude of Mr. Roosevelt, who said, "I am in favour of Women's Suffrage, but not enthusiastically," is not that of the Men's League, which on a rigidly non-party basis assists all Suffrage organisations, irrespective of these societies' opinions concerning constitutionalism or militancy. Its membership has grown in proportion to its useful activities, and it possesses flourishing branches and affiliated societies in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, the Universities, and elsewhere. For the past two years the League has carried on a strenuous open-air campaign in the London parks—it now holds two meetings every Sunday in Hyde Park, and, in addition to its invaluable Stewards' Corps, has turned out a brilliant corps of sincere and convincing speakers, as the Freedom League is well able to testify. Then

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successful Trafalgar Square meetings have been organised, and at all the great Suffrage Demonstrations a sturdy Men's League contingent, decorated with the yellow and black badge, followed the banner inscribed with Mr. Laurence Housman's witty motto "Women's Right is no Man's Wrong."

The political usefulness of the Men's League has only been realised this year. The General Election saw the League, as organised voters, able to put questions and to bring pressure. Two influential members of the Executive, Messrs. Chancellor and Walter Maclaren, were able to represent the League and take part in the recent two-days' debate from the Government Benches in the House of Commons. Mr. Philip Snowden, also a member of the League, has rendered services to the Women's Cause at each opportunity's occurrence. The striking success attending the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill is due to the efforts of Mr. H. N. Brailsford, of the Executive Committee, in particular, and to the increasing importance of the Men's League in general. On Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive an influential deputation from the Men's League, a powerful statement of the case for Women's Suffrage was forwarded to him, and has since been published and widely circulated, under the title of "An Open Letter to the Prime Minister," which, together with a list of representative men (an answer to the Anti-suffragists' list), forms a most welcome addition to Suffragist pamphlets.

The League has done, and is doing, valuable Suffrage propaganda, is proposing at a Special General Meeting, to be held shortly, to adopt a forward policy on pronounced anti-Government lines, and with this evidence of its future increased sphere of activity and of the earnestness of its intentions, we heartily commend it to the sympathy of our members and the support of all men readers. The women must recruit and the men enlist. Let no man in favour of Women's Suffrage remain outside the membership of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, 40, Museum Street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.



## THE VOTE.

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 Managing Director—Miss MARIE LAWSON.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1910.

### WOMEN AND TAXATION.

Women are not only the least criminal part of our population, but they are also the most exemplary taxpayers. Until the repeated denial of their right of voting called forth the protest of passive resistance, the women taxpayers of the country must have won golden opinions from the officials of the Inland Revenue Office. But these days are gone. From every quarter comes the refusal of information and the refusal of payment. The gathering in of the income-tax of women has become a burden. The peaceful taxpayer of a few years ago has become to the official eye a most unsatisfactory defaulter. She claims the right of voting as an acknowledgment of her peaceful paying. She has taken for her motto "No Vote, No Tax." She reiterates her grievance, and will not pay until it is redressed.

In addition to this general grievance, the special injustice and indignity imposed upon married women by the Inland Revenue procedure are met with resentment and growing protest and with categorical charges of illegality. The husbands of the women having separate incomes or earnings are adding their protests like fuel to the fire. They fail to see why they should be held responsible for the return of their wives' incomes, and be penalised by the denial of abatement if such return is not forthcoming. They point out that the law gives them neither the power nor the right to enquire into the financial affairs of their wives. They add that by the illegal practice of putting the two incomes together and calling them the income of the man, the State is guilty of imposing a higher rate of taxation upon married persons. In this way marriage is specially penalised, and unorthodox unions are encouraged. This state of affairs is not satisfactory to either husband or wife; and both husband and wife have joined the protest against it. The Treasury will have both to meet if it does not alter its present course of action.

These are standing grievances, but an additional reason and an additional opportunity for revolt upon the resistance-to-taxation lines has been supplied by the new Land Tax. Unless the Women's Suffrage Bill is carried into law this autumn, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to face the fact that every new piece of taxation carried through the Legislature will be impeded as far as possible by the efforts of women who have not been consulted about it. The outcry against the liquor taxes of the Budget, and now the growing clamour against the far-reaching demands of the new Land Tax Act, ought to make clear to this gentleman that there are quite enough natural opponents to increased taxation to be faced and vanquished without any Government going out of its way to raise up artificial ones by specific acts of injustice. But there are some people whom the gods make blind that they may be the more certainly overthrown.

There are not a very large number of women land-owners. Indeed, if the word is employed according to ordinary usage, there are very few. But for the purposes of this Land Tax a new meaning has been given to both "land" and "owner." The new legal definition makes "land" include all kinds of structures, from mansions to stables, and also minerals, trees, and machinery; the owner is so defined as to include leaseholder as well as the owner proper; many a comparatively poor woman will find herself included in the wider range thus assured for the Government's operations.

Upon the Land Tax itself we pass no opinion. It may be a good thing, as some people claim; it may be a bad one conceived for a good end, as others hold; or it may be one that is bad altogether. Suffragists, as such,

have no official opinion upon this point. They hold that it will be time enough for them to divide into hostile camps about land taxes when they are voters, and they put this, with many other issues, aside. But while they refuse to be partisans, they take a very definite stand against the application of any Act which entails the taxing of voteless women. Every new Act of this nature must count upon their opposition.

The famous forms on which the owners and leaseholders of the country have to prepare the necessary statistics for the levying of the new tax have been issued now in practically all parts of England, and they will be issued in Scotland within a few days. Already these forms have been returned unfilled up, and with a curt comment as to the status of the woman applied to, by some of our members in England. They will be so returned by many Suffragists across the border. Neither information nor money will be forthcoming in response to the Inland Revenue Department's demands. As far as possible this piece of Government business will be impeded first by the determined refusal of information, and, second, by the withholding of the money claimed in taxes.

Such refusal to yield to tyranny is always desirable. But at the present moment it carries an additional value in that it can be employed to improve the chances of the Conciliation Women's Suffrage Bill. From now until the fate of the Bill is decided, every woman to whom any Government application for information or for taxes is made should not only refuse to comply because of the unrepresented condition of her sex, but should add a rider to the effect that she will gladly supply information and provide the money claimed if the Women's Suffrage Bill at present before Parliament becomes law this Session.

By this means pressure will be brought to bear upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and through him upon the Cabinet, in favour of our Bill. In order to make the protest completely effective, not only should it be made through the local revenue channels, but Mr. Lloyd George himself should be approached. A letter stating the reasons for the course of action followed, and repeating the promise to comply with the Government claim if the Conciliation Bill is carried into law, should be sent to him by every passive resister. To further emphasise the position, groups of tax-resisters should seek interviews with the Chancellor. There should be a series of requests for deputations to be received from every kind of taxpaying women. The women affected by the new Land Tax should send a deputation, if possible, from every district. The women payers of ordinary income-tax should send a deputation. The married women should send a deputation. The women liable to the super-tax should send a deputation. And everyone of them should preach the same path of salvation to the Treasury—the Conciliation Bill as the price of yielding to taxation by the women of the country. If, in addition to this series of lessons from women, a representative deputation of aggrieved husbands could wait upon the Chancellor, pointing out their intention to oppose the Government by their votes unless they are relieved from their present anomalous and burdensome position, the education of this member of the Cabinet would surely be ensured.

Many Liberal women, who have so far failed to share the worst risks of the Suffrage fight, could do great service to the cause now in this way. The attitude of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Conciliation Bill has completely absolved them of any obligations to him. Many thousands of them are taxpayers, and a determined demand for the passage of this Bill as the price of their taxes should have some effect. Much resentment is felt in Liberal ranks. But vague resentment, however warm, is of little practical value—it is ignored, its very presence is denied by the politician. Translated into this practical form, it would be more effective than the protest of any other body of people. Will the Liberal women rise to the occasion? Definite impeding of the Government business is the only policy that will carry weight now. Let all who can put their hands to the plough, and the task will yet be done. TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

## NEW AUTUMN BLOUSES.



Shirt (as sketch) in the new Sunshing Silk, gathered into well-fitting yoke, finished with tie and linen turn-over collar and cuffs—in Black, Cream, and all the new colourings.

15/9

SENT ON APPROVAL.

Debenham & Freebody,  
 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, London, W.

### BRANCH NOTES.

**Central London Branch.**—1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

Mrs. Manson addressed a large and interested audience on Friday, September 9th, at 7.30 p.m., at Hyde Park, upon "Women and War." Miss Cressy took the chair, indicating in a few words the rebuffs received by a girl who has to work for her living as a typist or a secretary when demanding for equal work the same rate of pay as a man would receive. Miss Benett again put before the audience the conditions of the Conciliation Bill, which cannot be rubbed in too often. On the 13th inst. Mrs. Manson spoke at the Marble Arch at 7.30 p.m. upon "Women and Thinking Imperially." We cannot be too grateful to Mrs. Manson for undertaking these large meetings each week and for the instructive speeches she gives her audiences. On Sunday, the 11th inst., she was called upon to speak from the platform of the Men's League, who hold two meetings each Sunday at Hyde Park. At Regent's Park Miss Benett and Madame Zénéide Mirovitch may congratulate themselves on having held one of the largest and most sympathetic audiences this year at Regent's Park. I regret that Miss Morgan-Browne, owing to a severe cold, was unable to keep her appointment to speak for us. Mrs. Tanner is our speaker for next Sunday at 12 o'clock.—EVELYN DE VISMES.

**Hackney.**—4, Clarence Road.

A meeting was held on Sunday in Victoria Park. The chair was taken by Miss Guttridge, who pointed out the injustice that is practised on women, and then called upon Mrs. Manson, who dealt with points that do not occur to those people outside the Suffrage Societies—such as the waste of time on Women's Bills that are never allowed full facilities, and the waste of money for Cabinet Ministers' protection when a small women's suffrage measure could stop this.—E. E. BUSBY.

**Acton.**—153, St. Alban's Avenue, Chiswick, W.

A new Branch was inaugurated by Mrs. Borrmann Wells at a meeting held on Wednesday at the residence of Mrs. Ashton, 26, Buxton Gardens, Acton, who has consented to be Hon. Literature Secretary. Miss Wood will be Hon. Treasurer, and Miss Henwood, to whose energy the creation of the Branch is principally due, will act as Hon. Secretary. A full programme has been arranged by this Branch, to include a Social Meeting, a Jumble Sale to provide funds, and a large Public Meeting.

**Crystal Palace and Anerley District.**—149, Croydon Road.

In spite of a cold night, a fair-sized crowd assembled last Monday to hear Mrs. Duval relate some of her prison experiences, to which they listened with great attention. She also showed by one or two true stories how unfair the law is in many instances to women. Miss Fennings spoke on the Conciliation Bill, appealing for practical help from the men. Thirty copies of THE VOTE were sold and a collection taken. Chalking has its bright side, and the other day a cheering little incident occurred when I was advertising the meeting as usual. Two little girls, about ten and twelve years old, came up and said: "We believe in you. We are Suffragettes, and so are our mothers." And then followed a little conversation about some meetings they had been to while on their holidays, and I left them with a promise to call at their homes.—J. M. F.

**Croydon.**—9, Morland Avenue.

At the Friday evening meeting at South Norwood Clock Miss E. Fennings spoke of the justice of our demand for the Suffrage, and urged all those in sympathy to do something, however little it might be, for the cause now. Dr. Macpherson, as a medical practitioner, knowing, as he necessarily must do, of the sufferings, the work, and the needs of women, earnestly besought his listeners to help in this great and righteous movement, and in obtaining the enfranchisement of women to bring about a better and a nobler race. Many copies of THE VOTE were sold and a good collection taken. We need more men to help in this great and righteous movement. On September 17th we held a meeting at the top of Morland Road. The speakers were Mrs. Tanner and Miss E. Fennings. Miss Mary Pearson presided. Miss Fennings emphasised the fact that many women are already qualified to vote, but are not allowed to do so, and therefore they claim the right of the Parliamentary Franchise. Mrs. Tanner, in a very able address, spoke of the sex disabilities in the home and in the industrial world, the pressing need of the mother's point of view in legislation, and the inequalities of the divorce laws and the laws of parentage, which are so unjust towards women. Next Saturday, at 7.30 p.m., a meeting will be held at Thornton Heath Clock. Some of our members will be taking part in the Pageant of Great Women in Beckenham Town Hall. More members are needed to sell THE VOTE regularly. The Secretary will be glad to receive names of those able and willing to spare one or two hours a week for this purpose.—E. T.

**Battersea.**—37, Park Road, St. John's Hill, Wandsworth.

On Tuesday, September 13th, Miss Benett gave an excellent speech to a sympathetic crowd at Mossbury Road. On Friday, September 16th, a most successful meeting was held at Winders Road, Mrs. Duval in the chair; speakers, Mrs. Reader and Mr. Duval. Twenty-four copies of THE VOTE were sold. In the audience was one of our "Anti" friends, who told us women should be in the home. She was promptly rebuked by some men in the crowd, who asked her why she was not there herself. Sunday, September 18th, Mrs. Reader and Mrs. and Mr. Duval held a successful meeting on Clapham Common. We took a good collection and papers sold well.—B. DUVAL.

**North East District.**—Mrs. Schofield Coates, Wilstrop House, Roman Road, Middlesbrough.

**Sunderland.**

A successful Branch meeting was held in Westcott House on September 8th. Miss Dora Guy gave an interesting paper on the attitude of Mrs. Grundy respecting the general progress and evolution of the present-day woman. This was followed by Mrs. Morrissey rendering a recitation very ably. The coming Pageant was discussed at some length, and all were enthusiastic. We anticipate that the Pageant will be a great success; to this end everyone is working hard. The Suffrage Shop which we have opened in one of the most prominent thoroughfares in the town, for the sale of literature and tickets, is proving a source of attraction.—L. T. MAIL.

**Ipswich.**—160, Norwich Road.

Our weekly meetings have now been resumed. Last Thursday afternoon, after Miss Andrews had given an account of the Felixstowe campaign, a programme of future meetings was drawn up. Further arrangements were made for the Pageant on October 20th. All help possible is needed in distributing bills and selling tickets.

We were sorry to say good-bye to Mrs. Grayson, who has been an active member of our Branch ever since its formation. She is going to live in Manchester, and will doubtless be welcomed by the Branch there.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

**Cheltenham.**—3, Wellington Square.

A very good open-air meeting was held at Clarence Street on September 14th. It had been raining all day, but it cleared up in time for the meeting, and an attentive and sympathetic audience stood in the damp for nearly two hours listening to the Rev. W. B. Graham, who pleaded eloquently the cause of women's enfranchisement. He argued that true democracy is an impossible attainment while women are excluded. Women are half the nation, and so long as they are debarred from helping to rule the nation real progress lags, and until the shackles are removed from women men also must suffer from retarding weight. Miss Shaw, who made a very efficient chairman, put the resolution, calling upon the Government to give facilities for the passing into law of the Conciliation Bill this Session. This was passed practically unanimously, and copies have been sent to Lord Duncannon and the Prime Minister. A good collection was taken and literature sold briskly.—F. H. E.



**Swansea.**—Mrs. Cleaves, Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glam.

The visit of the N.E.C. to Swansea from September 20th to October 4th must be made a record one. All members must remember that our fame for brilliant meetings is renowned, so they must finish up their holidays at once and start working very hard. Miss Alison Neilans is coming this week to help, first at Cardiff, then in Swansea, and the committee has decided to take advantage of her stay here to hold a series of open-air meetings. We want two umbrella "poster parades"; I have names of some volunteers, but not enough. This is such a splendid form of advertisement. On September 29th there will be a meeting at Gorseinon, which Miss Downie is kindly arranging. On September 30th Mrs. Hutton is giving a drawing-room meeting at her house in Swansea, when Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Vulliamy will speak. On the evening of September 30th Mrs. Billington-Greig and Mrs. Manson will speak at Cardiff. Other meetings will be arranged in the following places:—Swansea, Neath, Maesteg, and Port Talbot. To conclude the visit, there will be an "At Home" and a mass meeting at the Albert Hall.

On October 4th the Rev. Simon Jones is arranging a debate which should be extremely interesting, so please come and bring all your friends—"antis" and undecided, and, of course, Suffrage ones. A fine form of propaganda is always to wear your badge, so please let them be in great evidence during this forthcoming time. They may be obtained from Miss Salmon, M.A., price 1d. and upwards. When bought, do not leave them on your dressing-table or "other coat," but please wear them.

**Portsmouth and Gosport.**—Mrs. Whetton, 64, Devonshire Avenue, Southsea.

On Monday, September 12th, we managed to secure our usual pitch on the Town Hall Square. A splendid meeting was held, the audience being most sympathetic. Our resolution was passed without a dissentient, and all our voters' postcards were eagerly taken. Mrs. Crawley did excellent work, selling THE VOTE, and Miss Wood took the best collection we have had for some weeks. We opened new ground on Friday evening by holding a meeting in Arundel Street. It was fairly successful, but the crowd fluctuated, which rather tends to spoil a meeting. However, we sold some VOTES, several pamphlets on the Conciliation Bill, took a collection, and got the name and address of a sympathiser. We start this week to canvass the women householders. Any member or sympathiser willing to help, writing or calling at the above address, will be heartily welcomed and set to work at once.—S. WHEATON.

**Sheffield.**—32, Dover Road.

At a meeting on Monday evening last arrangements were made for extensive advertisement of the Pageant on October 15th. Characters were allotted and many details discussed. We have secured as patrons many influential people in the town, and shall leave no stone unturned to make it a success. It is absolutely essential that we should have the whole-hearted support and co-operation of all friends and sympathisers, and we hope that these will come forward and help us in the sale of tickets and in generally making the Pageant known.

### SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow Office: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.  
Office Secretary: Miss McARTHUR.  
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

#### The Scottish Council

The Scottish Council met at 3, Charlotte Street, Perth (by kind invitation of Mrs. Macpherson), on Saturday, September 10th. There was unfortunately a small attendance, several members having to send apologies at the last minute. Reports from delegates showed that the Branches are all preparing for a hard winter's work. A discussion then took place on "How to Help the Conciliation Bill," and various suggestions were made, such as getting all Societies in favour to send up resolutions to the Prime Minister, asking for further facilities, special efforts to be made to get Town Councils to follow the example of Glasgow; to get Literary Societies to have an open discussion on the Bill; the discussion to be opened by a member of the Local Branch; and the Conciliation Committee's pamphlet to be distributed to all those present. Suggestions for winter work and ways and means of raising money was the next topic, and it is hoped that by this interchange of ideas each Branch will benefit. The next meeting was arranged to be held at Dundee on Saturday, December 10th.

**Edinburgh.**—33, Forrest Road.

Though a strike has been averted in the printing trade, the settlement arrived at is such as only emphasises the unsatisfactory position of women's labour under present conditions. It was therefore particularly appropriate that the subject for last Tuesday afternoon's "At Home" should have been "The Position of Women in Industry" and the speaker Mrs. Lamont, whose wide knowledge of trades unionism has been placed so unreservedly at the disposal of the women compositors during the dispute. Many instances of the disabilities under which working women suffer were brought forward, and, while dwelling on the need for Women's Unions and their usefulness, Mrs. Lamont made it clear that the voteless condition of women was the fundamental fact in the matter. Mrs. Finlayson Gauld, who was in the chair, then introduced Mrs. Newell, an Australian lady now resident in New Zealand, who kindly addressed a few words to us. One trembles to think of the "unsexed monstrosity" that any "Anti" present must have expected to see when the Chairman announced that Mrs. Newell had not only worked for the vote in Australia, and exercised it there and in New Zealand, but had actually been the first

woman in Australia to record her vote! And, of course, she would have been most grievously disappointed.

A very successful innovation was that introduced this week by Miss Elizabeth Ireland, who entertained a large party of her friends to tea in the Shop. A short Suffrage speech was delivered by Miss Sara Munro, President of the Branch, and was followed by discussion. The Committee will gladly place the Shop at the disposal of any member who cares to do likewise.

Members, please keep in mind the Sale on November 5th and Mrs. Despard's meeting on November 9th, and let Mrs. Thomson, 39, Rosslyn Crescent, know what time you can give to "keeping shop."—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

#### Glasgow.

The first "At Home" of the season will be held in the Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall Street, on Wednesday evening, September 28th, at 7.30 p.m., when Mrs. Scrimgeour (Convener of "At Homes" Committee) has kindly consented to act as hostess. The Committee has been fortunate in securing a speaker on this occasion, Councillor Pratt, to whom our best thanks are due for bringing the motion before the Glasgow Town Council to petition Parliament in favour of the Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women, which was carried unanimously by the Council a few weeks ago. It is earnestly hoped that all members and friends will be present to hear Councillor Pratt.

A Cake and Candy Sale will be held in the Suffrage Centre on Saturday, October 1st, at 3 o'clock, opening ceremony by Miss Eunice Murray (President of Glasgow Branch of W.F.L.). Tea can be had at usual City prices. Concerts will be held at intervals, and for a very small charge the future will be revealed to the curious by palmistry and cup-reading. Will members and friends kindly help us by sending contributions of sweets, cakes, &c., to Miss Dickie (Convener), Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

A Whist Drive will be held in the Suffrage Centre on Thursday, October 13th, at 7 p.m., when Mrs. Hoy has again kindly promised to be Convener. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. each. The Whist Drive held last year was so successful and enjoyable that we have been encouraged to repeat the experiment this year. Will members and friends who have not yet secured tickets please apply for same as early as possible either to Conveners of District Committees or Miss McArthur, Suffrage Centre.—KATHARINE McARTHUR.

### OUR TREASURY.

|   | £    | s. | d. |  | £     | s. | d. |
|---|------|----|----|--|-------|----|----|
| Amount previously acknowledged              | 3545 | 12 | 0  | Sidley, per Miss                                       | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Title, Miss C.                              | 20   | 2  | 0  | Wydes, Miss G.   | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Despard, Mrs. C.                            | 10   | 0  | 0  | Wydes, Miss K. M.                                      | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Member Men's Committee for Justice to Women | 5    | 0  | 0  | Smith, Miss M. E.                                      | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Borrmann Wells, Mrs.                        | 4    | 0  | 0  | Nutt, Miss A. R.                                       | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| White, Mrs. E.                              | 1    | 0  | 0  | Porscutt, Miss A. L.                                   | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Tudor, Mrs.                                 | 1    | 1  | 0  | Powell, Miss F. M.                                     | 0     | 2  | 0  |
| Cope, Mrs.                                  | 1    | 1  | 0  | Peckover, Miss M.                                      | 0     | 2  | 6  |
| Tottenham Branch                            | 1    | 1  | 0  | Wheat, Miss A. E.                                      | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Vulliamy, Mrs.                              | 1    | 1  | 0  | Parsons, Miss P.                                       | 0     | 2  | 6  |
| Harvey, Miss C.                             | 0    | 10 | 0  | Coyle, per Miss  |       |    |    |
| Stevenson Howell, Mrs.                      | 0    | 11 | 11 | Goad, Miss   | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Moore, Mrs. L. J.                           | 0    | 4  | 0  | Munro, per Miss  | 0     | 10 | 6  |
| Wood, Miss A. J. E.                         | 0    | 4  | 0  | Manning, per Miss                                      |       |    |    |
| Title, Miss A. J.                           | 0    | 5  | 0  | Result of Saturday excursions to seaside during August | 0     | 18 | 0  |
| Berkeley Smith, Miss K.                     | 0    | 10 | 0  | Per Miss Matters and Miss Tillard                      |       |    |    |
| Hayden, Mrs. R.                             | 0    | 2  | 0  | Macdonald, Miss  | 1     | 1  | 0  |
| Livingstone, Mrs. A.                        | 0    | 2  | 0  | Howies, R. B., Esq.                                    | 2     | 1  | 0  |
| Leighton, Miss (Hartlepool Branch)          | 0    | 3  | 3  | Sidley, per J. Esq.                                    | 0     | 1  | 0  |
| Dick, Miss M.                               | 0    | 1  | 0  | Robertson, Miss J. B.                                  | 0     | 2  | 6  |
| Johnson, Miss D.                            | 0    | 4  | 0  | Stewart, B.Sc., per Miss I.                            |       |    |    |
| Putz, Mme.                                  | 0    | 2  | 6  | "A Friend," Spenni                                     | 0     | 2  | 0  |
| Colley, Miss B.                             | 0    | 1  | 0  | thorne, Yorks.   | 0     | 2  | 0  |
| Roberts, Mrs. E.                            | 0    | 2  | 0  | Stewart, Miss  | 0     | 2  | 0  |
| Elderton, Mrs. L.                           | 0    | 2  | 0  | C.T.O., per Miss King                                  | 0     | 18 | 1  |
| Arklay, Mrs.                                | 0    | 2  | 0  | Collections and Sales:                                 |       |    |    |
| Fisher, Mrs.                                | 0    | 9  | 11 | Sidley, per Miss (Caravan)                             | 4     | 10 | 3  |
| Johnson, Miss.                              | 0    | 2  | 1  | Title, per Miss C.                                     | 0     | 17 | 0  |
| Powell, Miss V.                             | 0    | 2  | 0  | Huttman Hume, per Mrs.                                 | 0     | 10 | 0  |
| Ashby, Nurse                                | 0    | 1  | 0  | Bremner, per Miss                                      | 0     | 2  | 10 |
| Haynes, Mrs.                                | 0    | 1  | 0  | London   | 3     | 3  | 11 |
| Huttman Hume, Mrs.                          | 0    | 5  | 0  | Total  | £3612 | 0  | 2  |
| O'Dell, Mrs. M.                             | 0    | 2  | 6  | Corrections:   |       |    |    |
| Drysdale, Mrs. B.                           | 0    | 10 | 0  | Fennings, per Miss                                     |       |    |    |
| Lees, Miss G.                               | 0    | 5  | 0  | Mrs. Powell  | 0     | 5  | 0  |
| Waterloo (Liverpool) Branch                 | 1    | 3  | 6  | Munro, per Miss  | 1     | 1  | 0  |
| Title, per Miss C.                          | 0    | 2  | 0  | Darent Harrison, Mrs.                                  | 1     | 1  | 0  |
| Bale, Lady                                  | 0    | 2  | 0  | Title, Master A.                                       |       |    |    |
| Title, Master A.                            | 0    | 2  | 0  |  |       |    |    |

We thank all our kind friends who have come to our help during the dull season, and hope now that the new season's work is beginning that our members will come forward with fresh enthusiasm to work for the cause.

We have just received a very cheering letter from a member enclosing 2s., which was given to her by a gentleman in a train in Yorkshire, who, pointing to her W.F.L. badge, said:—"Will you take this for your cause?"

While thanking the unknown donor for his kind contribution, I should like to point out to our members the advantage that may come to us by wearing the badge in a conspicuous position. It sometimes happens that the sight of the badge calls forth a contemptuous smile, but I think the above charming little episode is well worth hundreds of contemptuous smiles.—CONSTANCE TITE.

### FORGING CHAINS.

By C. DESPARD.

From the daily Press, which has been recording the proceedings of the Parliament of Labour, there comes a dramatic story. For its significance, as well as its symbolism, I give it here. Into the great hall, where sat the trade union delegates, grave and serious men, comprising, as the *Daily News* expresses it, "the cream of the industrial nation," came suddenly three pale, careworn women, dressed in black and holding forth a chain.

In a few words, made eloquent by passionate sincerity, one of these women made her brothers understand that the chain was her workmanship, and that the reward of her labour was one penny.

The effect seems to have been electrical. The whole of that great assembly, moved by uncontrollable emotion, rose, a collection was made in support of the strikers, and it was ordered that the Fiery Cross, signifying these women's need, should go from union to union, so that all the working world should know how the work of women was regarded. It was to be understood that labour was one, and that men stood by women in their demand for justice.

How earnestly do I sometimes wish that the resolutions which, in moments of vision and enthusiasm, we pass so readily, could outlive those moments longer! For then I think there would be some hope of a speedy victory—such a victory as would set us all free to work as we have never worked before for our oppressed sisters and brothers.

Meanwhile, the men are moved. What is it that has moved them? A woman holding in her hand the heavy chain which she has forged herself. Why, if their eyes were open, they could see that any day! To me, in fact, the figure is intensely significant, women, in the past, generation after generation, have been forging chains for womanhood. It began with what is called "The Fall." For this ancient myth, which, in one form or another appears in all the great cosmogonies and religions, has a stern truth behind it. Humanity, which is two in one—"male and female created He them"—fell when Pysche, the woman, doing violence to her own heaven-imprinted instincts, permitted herself to be the instrument of man's pleasure. Then, in Eden, the chain-forging began, and it has gone on ever since.

Some are very busy now. We have seen them at the forge. "Men are our masters," they say, sometimes placidly, because the chains are gilded, sometimes with groans and tears. "It is in the nature of things." The Bible says so; "Thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Much better for us to be submissive."

Poor women! And what has the result of your submission been? Let this topsy-turvy world, with its fierce competition, its social problems, always talked about, but never bravely tackled, its sweated industries, its slum dwellings, its starved children, and its infant mortality, answer that question.

Up to a comparatively late period in our history woman—the mother and worker—has looked on upon this helpless. She has worn the chain which generations of women have forged. And what has she had for it? Not even the penny allotted to the Cradley Heath chain-maker. To bear, rear, and tend the children, who are, in the eyes of the law, her lord's, to boil the pot, to look after what, in bitter sarcasm, surely, is called "the home," where there is no home, to snatch from men the work that they have taken from her; and when all other ways of gaining a livelihood are blocked out to sell for bread that which alone is her own—her honour, her human independence, her good name. And the reward for all this? Just what men, in their generosity, choose to give her.

There are some, no doubt, persons of narrow experience who will say that all this is an exaggeration. And, indeed, there are many women much happier than these. The reason, however, is not that the law is just, not that women are strong; but that both men and women, in thousands of cases, are better than the law. In order fairly to judge of a situation, we must look at it from

every side, and none who see clearly will deny that while the laws of marriage, of parenthood, of inheritance, and of labour remain as they are, woman is in bonds.

She is beginning to see this. Slowly but surely the discovery that is bringing her out, like the women of Cradley Heath, upon the world's stage, is dawning upon her. With her discovery she is going through the country, making the hearts of the chain-lovers uneasy.

They, poor timid souls, are frightened. They see, in their imagination, consideration gone, chivalry dead, beauty and love withered. How, they ask, will it be possible to live in the world which these women are preparing? But, in spite of them, the cry goes on—nay! it grows louder and louder—"We have been forging chains, and to our own limbs they have been fitted. This degrading toil shall be ours no longer. We do not fear work; we are ready for it; but we will work now as free women, with definite rights in the nation, consenting to obey the law which is ours as well as our brothers, receiving a righteous reward for our labour."

Such is the woman's discovery. Let it once be known and understood, and the moment of enthusiasm will lead surely to the hour of fulfilment!

### CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

MADAM,—Having just returned from a visit to Holland, I was interested to find in the great paintings of Franz Hals and his contemporaries evidence of the important position occupied by the women of his day as administrators. There are to be seen everywhere pictures of the Regentessen, or lady managers, of various public institutions, and these not for women only; among them are included hospitals for old men.—I remain, your obedient servant,  
JOHN A. COCKBURN.  
London, S.W., September 15th, 1910.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

MADAM,—If any of your readers can help the Sussex Men's League by sending me coupons for the *Morning Leader* Votes for Women Competition, I should feel extremely grateful. I am entering this competition, and intend, if I am lucky enough to gain one of the prizes of furniture, to hand it over to the S.M.L. to furnish the offices it intends to take this winter. A large number of signatures can be obtained by taking coupons to meetings to get them signed.—Yours faithfully,  
A. BRUNEL.

Frankville, Franklin Road,  
Portslade, September 15th, 1910.

### TAX RESISTANCE.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

MADAM,—My wife, being treated as an outlander in her own country, has refused payment of taxes levied on her own professional income. For this she has already twice suffered distraint of her goods in enforcement of that levy.

This would appear logical treatment for those in full possession of the rights of citizenship, the qualification for which is payment of taxes, direct or indirect.

On a third refusal, however, no suggestion of distraint is made, but I am informed that I am liable for taxes levied on her income, while at the same time the law places all her property entirely beyond my control.

This in itself is sufficiently illogical, but if it be a correct interpretation of existing law, then the distraints on my wife's property were clearly illegal. I cannot be responsible for her income which I may not touch, and she liable to distraint for what she is not obliged to pay.

The logic of the market-place grasps the fact that you cannot have your cake and eat it.—Yours faithfully,  
MARK WILKS.

A PRIVATE jujitsu demonstration for ladies only will be given by Madam Garrud at her school, 31, Golden Square, Regent Street, W., on Saturday, 24th, at 3.30 p.m. Tickets free to all who send addressed envelopes.



## WOMEN'S ENTERPRISE IN CHINA.

By CONSTANCE TITE.

(Continued from page 250.)

### A Protective Law.

Fortunately there is a law in China, or at any rate in that part, which provides that a girl may not be kept as a prostitute against her will. It is generally, no doubt, practically a dead letter, but yet it exists, and if a girl succeeds in escaping the brothel-keepers can do nothing, although it may be a great pecuniary loss to them. At first, of course, Miss B— had to look entirely to friends and other foreigners for help, but, as the work enlarged and as her method of dealing with the girls became known, she began to receive practical help from the better-class Chinese, and several rich Chinese have lately taken to contributing generously to the funds. Besides two large buildings in Shanghai, there is now a home outside the town for the girls under fourteen, which I, unfortunately, had no time to visit. The Shanghai houses, which are in a very poor part of the town, are just the ordinary Chinese houses, but they are not comfortable or convenient, and, with the continually increasing number of girls, they are getting rather cramped, and it is hoped soon to be able to start another home outside Shanghai for the older girls as well. They have not yet got the money, but that does not seem to disturb them at all. Miss B— told us that when money had been needed it had always come!

### Discipline and Encouragement.

The girls under fourteen are treated very much as they would be in any school, but for the older girls certain rather strict rules have been found necessary. For the first year they are not allowed to go out at all or to have any communication with the outside world. They are taught to read, write, and sew, and do general domestic work, and everything is done to make as complete a break as possible with their former life. After the first year they are not kept quite so strictly, and they generally soon marry from the home. In that respect they are better off than the same class at home, for in China respectable men appear to have no objection to marrying girls from these homes. Miss D— told us that the majority marry as soon as the year of probation is over, for the Chinese working man, earning good wages, likes to get a wife from the refuge, on the ground that not only has she been taught to sew and be useful, and has been better educated than she would otherwise have been, but she receives an outfit from the home, and a cupboard, which is the pride of a Chinese girl of the poorer classes. The girls like to marry from the home, too, as they are allowed to see and speak to the intending husband before they decide upon the step of marriage, and if they do not like his appearance they can refuse his offer, a liberty they would never have in their own homes. Those who do not marry so soon are taught to do all sorts of fine needlework, and they get large orders for blouses and underwear from ladies in Shanghai; they also do the housework. The little girls are mostly sent to the refuge by the mixed court, when they have been taken from brothels which have been raided by the police for some reason. Miss D— told us that a short time before they had had ten girls from one house in that manner. She also told us that on the whole they had really very little trouble with the girls, as, although it was often difficult to get the older ones into habits of order and industry, they came of their own free will and in spite of all difficulties, and were therefore girls of naturally good character. We

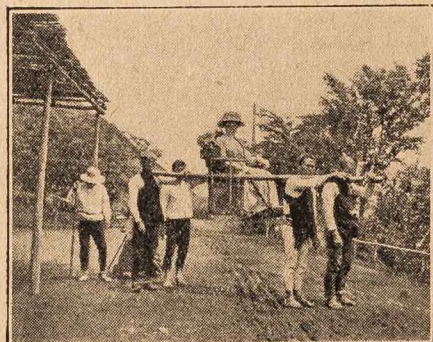
were very much struck, in fact, by the amiable and intelligent faces of most of them and their evident good spirits. Most of them also have a great desire to learn. I left the Door of Hope full of enthusiasm and admiration. It must surely be a unique undertaking, and when one reflects that the woman who started less than ten years ago alone and with practically nothing is now the head of this great institution, and has so completely broken down the opposition of the Chinese, who are perhaps the most conservative race on earth, that she now receives the greater part of the necessary funds from them, one wonders what work any man could bring forward at the same time more remarkable and more useful.

### A Refuge for Children.

The last place I visited in Shanghai was the Refuge for Children who had been sold by their parents or by kidnappers as household slaves. This produced a depressing and miserable impression as the other two a hopeful and exhilarating one. With the exception of one girl of about thirteen, who was partly imbecile, none of the little girls were over eight or nine, and the effect they produced was horrifying. A great many of them simply glared at us with an expression of senseless fear like wild animals, and some looked hardly alive. The lady who took us round told us that the majority were brutalised or half-witted from fear when they were brought to the refuge, and it was often months before quite tiny girls could be made to realise that their miserable lives had changed. In spite of all care, great numbers die, and of those who survive a great many are permanently injured and enfeebled as the result of ill-treatment. One pretty child of seven, whom we noticed at once on account of her charming lively face, in such contrast to the others, had been in the refuge a whole year, and was now full of fun and gaiety; but except what they had heard when the child was given them by the mixed court the refuge ladies had not been able to learn one thing about her former life. The child after a year was still simply terrified at the idea of being sent back, and evidently had some vague fear that if they knew where she came from they would not keep her.

### Child Slavery.

After we had seen the children the superintendent showed us a great many photographs which had been taken of children on their admission to the refuge. They are photographed with practically no clothing, and in many cases the whole body is one mass of scars and wounds, mostly caused by hot iron, which seems to be the favourite mode of torture. Unfortunately, the Slave Refuge has much greater difficulties to contend with than the other institutions I saw, as Chinese opinion is against it. When a child has been bought by a family as a slave they can do whatever they like with it; it is absolutely their property, and no law can interfere, so that a family who would perhaps be too humane or too sensible to badly ill-treat their own slaves would probably resent any interference with the people next door, though that family might be torturing a child to death. The children can only be rescued through the mixed courts, the foreign judges I suppose insisting on the Chinese judges agreeing with them. So far as I could make out, the Slave Refuge receives no help from the Chinese, so that the workers in the home must need much more courage and faith in the utility of their work than those of the Door of Hope or the Hospital.



IN JAPAN.

## BELFAST LINEN TRADE SWEATING.

EMPLOYERS RECOMMENDED "TO PRAY LESS AND PAY MORE."

A public meeting called by the local Trades Council was held in the Ulster Hall on the 7th inst., its object being, in the words of the announcement, "to protest against the 'sweating' practices prevalent in the linen and cognate trades in Belfast and district, and to demand a Government inquiry into same." There was a large attendance of the working class element, with a considerable number of women and girls. Mr. D. R. Campbell, President of the Trades Council, occupied the chair.

The Rev. Dr. Murphy wrote: "I hope that in time you will extend your inquiry to the position and pay of shop girls in Belfast. There are, of course, numbers of firms in Belfast whom one would never accuse of not paying a living wage, but it seems to me that if some employers in Belfast prayed less and paid more they would have a better chance of heaven."

The Chairman, having criticised the Lord Mayor's ruling in regard to the question at the Corporation meeting, proceeded to say that the only method for remedying the present condition of things was a Government inquiry. It had been suggested that if there was an inquiry there would be a difficulty in getting workers to come forward. They knew how far intimidation could go and how far it had gone locally, but they were of opinion that in the city there were sufficient ex-sweated workers to substantiate the charges.

Mr. William Walker, J.P., moved the following resolution: "That this meeting of the citizens of Belfast endorses the demand to be made on the Secretary of State by the Belfast and District Trades and Labour Council for an inquiry into the condition of the workers in the linen and cognate trades; expresses its horror of the conditions under which many of the workers are employed; and appeals to the workers themselves to assist, by their direct evidence at the inquiry, in the abolition of a condition of affairs discreditable to Belfast, a blot upon civilisation, and a menace to the health of the community." The charge of sweating was not merely a charge of which Belfast should be ashamed, but one which, if the city had any Christianity within its borders, it would no longer tolerate. He said they had had a deputation to the Premier, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, calling attention to the horrors of the Congo. Would somebody not write to the Archbishop and point out to him the horrors of Belfast?

Miss Galway, in seconding, said she had all along worked her hardest to remedy this evil, but not being a titled person, and only an ordinary worker, there was not a great deal of attention paid to her. Dr. Baillie had now brought the matter under public notice, but his report understated the distress and misery which existed in the city. Producing several samples of the material handled by the outworkers, the speaker said that in one case a married woman with her three children took five hours to complete a certain amount of work, the recompense for which was threepence each. Then the Lord Mayor said it was not known exactly whether there was sweating or not. In another instance she said a widow, who had seven children, was employed to do a very delicate and artistic class of work. By working hard at this she could earn four shillings per week. In conclusion she appealed to women workers to organise in their unions to secure better conditions, and said if women had the franchise a great deal more would have been done for the removal of such evils as had been referred to than was the case. (Applause.)

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said he came there to support this resolution as one of the members for the city of Belfast, and to assure the toilers and workers that when the House of Commons again met he would demand a public inquiry, and ask that the venue should be shifted from behind the closed doors of the Public Health Committee to the open arena of the Imperial Parliament. (Applause.) They were assembled that night to demand an inquiry by the Home Office, and to force the Government to bring within the province of the Trades Boards Act of 1909 all

these sweated industries. They wanted an impartial tribunal which would save those wretched workers even from themselves. Was the widow whom Miss Galway described for them a free agent to sell her labour in a fair market? Or was she a mere slave and chattel at the mercy of any merciless sweater who dragged the life out of her for such a magnificent salary as they had heard of?

They had heard a great deal that night of the wages paid to these home workers, and the conditions under which they lived. He would like to call their attention to the character of these women. Dr. Baillie in his report stated that "the majority of these homes, belonging as they do to the more industrious section of the poorer class, are kept in a satisfactory state by the occupants. Indeed, they are, as a general rule, more cleanly than houses kept by women who do not do home work, the reason being that the woman who is energetic enough to seek to add to the family finances by her personal industry will generally make the additional effort necessary to keep the home and its inmates cleanly and comfortable." Well, how were decency and virtue rewarded? By 380 "dots" for a penny. He was surprised there were not more inhabitants of our penitentiaries, workhouses, and prisons. When they found women keeping clean houses and living virtuous lives paid four shillings a week for working ten hours a day, all he said was to have such heroic courage was more than all the greatness of generals and statesmen. There was less vice amongst the millworkers in Belfast than the drawing-rooms of the best society in London. These were the workers and the future mothers of an Irish citizenship, and it was their duty to preserve them from such conditions as Dr. Baillie describes. He had been eight years in Parliament, and he knew they would get nothing from the House of Commons unless they sent men there to ask for it. (Hear, hear.) If he rose up and repeated Miss Galway's speech and told the House of Commons that these were the conditions under which women laboured and were sweated, he might be met with the reply, "But Belfast sends three men to answer you, and if these grievances exist where are the representatives of these men and women to expose them in the Imperial Parliament?" The fault was the people's own. They had the power in their own hands.

He voted in favour of the Franchise for Women, because in his judgment women could not make a worse hand of it with their votes than the men were doing. (Applause.)

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried.

### Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., on the Suffrage.—

At a meeting in Sligo, organised by the Irish Women's Franchise League, Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., said this demand for the vote was, to his mind, the demand of a class becoming for the first time self-conscious, becoming conscious that the conditions had changed, and that they had passed away from the day when women could be regarded or treated in any part of modern life either as serfs or as pets. It would be very foolish to imagine that because there were no arguments against Women's Suffrage they had nothing to fight. They had something very much more difficult than argument to face, and that was a solid old-fashioned prejudice. Man had been so long "top dog" in politics that he believed nobody else but himself could do it, and he was not too ready to give any other person a chance. But he believed that it would be for the good of man as well as for the good of women if both sexes had equal political power.

## THE WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL REFORM UNION.

President: MRS. AUGUSTA FORRER.

International Executive Committee: Madame Marie de Perrot, B.èsL., Fräulein Käthe Hammerschmidt, Mrs. Ada A. Roberts, Senor A. Albanesi, M.A., Miss Lillian Dixon, and Signor G. Tittoni, B.A.

Hon. Organising Secretary, Mr. G. Kerschener-Knight, B.A., M.Sc.

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A CONFERENCE will be held in London, in November next, under the auspices of the Woman's International Reform Union. Full particulars on application to Mr. G. K. KNIGHT, 1, Tennyson Mansions Queen's Club Gardens, Kensington, London, W.



## FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

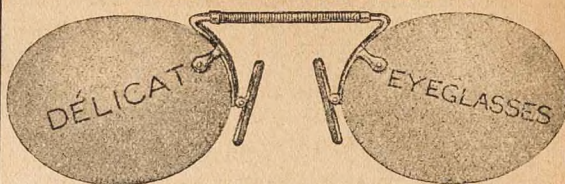
## LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Thurs., Sept. 22.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Miss Fennings.  
Acton Market Place, 8 p.m.
- Fri., Sept. 23.—South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Miss Fennings and Mr. Bowden Smith.  
Winders Road, Battersea, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Duval and Mrs. Reader.
- Sat., Sept. 24.—Beckenham Public Hall. Pageant of Great Women. Two performances, 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Tickets, 5s. (reserved) and 2s. 6d. (unreserved), from W.F.L. Office or from Mrs. Harvey, Bracken Hill, Highland Road, Bromley, Kent.
- Sat., Sept. 24.—Finchley, opposite Church End Station, at 7.30 p.m.  
Thornton Heath Clock, 7.30 p.m. Miss Fennings and Mr. Simpson.
- Sun., Sept. 25.—Finsbury Park, 11.30 a.m. Miss Weir.  
Victoria Park, 3 p.m. Miss Guttridge.  
Regent's Park, 11 a.m. Mrs. Hyde and Mr. John Simpson.  
Clapham Common, 5.30 p.m. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett and Miss Pell.
- Mon., Sept. 26.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Mrs. Hyde.  
Crystal Palace Tram Terminus, 8 p.m. Mr. Bowden Smith.
- Tues., Sept. 27.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Mrs. Hyde.  
Mossbury Road, Lavender Hill, 8 p.m. Dr. Macpherson.
- Wed., Sept. 28.—Willesden Green, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Tanner.  
Amhurst Park, North Hackney, 7.30 p.m. Mr. Alfred Baker.
- Thurs., Sept. 29.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m.  
Acton Market Place, 8 p.m. Miss Fennings.  
1, Robert Street, Adelphi. London Branches Council.
- Fri., Sept. 30.—South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Mr. J. Simpson and Miss L. Williams.  
Winders Road, Battersea Park, 8 p.m. Dr. Macpherson.
- Sat., Oct. 1.—Finchley, opposite Church End Station, 7.30 p.m.
- Mon., Oct. 3.—W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi. Central Branch Meeting.
- Fri., Oct. 7.—W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, 7.30. Members' Reunion.
- Sat., Oct. 8.—Trafalgar Square, 3 p.m. Mass Meeting and Joint Demonstration.
- Sheffield. PROVINCES.**
- Sat., Oct. 15.—The Pageant of Great Women.  
Middlesbrough.
- Mon., Oct. 3.—Grand Opera House, 8 p.m. The Pageant of Great Women. For particulars, apply Mrs. Schofield Coates, Wilstrop House, Roman Road.
- Manchester and District.**
- Mon., Sept. 26.—Billiard Hall, Moss Side, 7. Miss Eunice Murray.  
Alexandra Park Gates, 8. Miss Eunice Murray.
- Tues., Sept. 27.—Near Gresham's Works, South Salford, 12.30. Miss Eunice Murray.  
Near Hulse's Works, South Salford, 1. Miss Manning, Miss Eunice Murray.  
Broadway, Salford, 8 p.m. Miss Eunice Murray, Miss J. Heyes.  
Middleton, 8 p.m. Miss Neal.
- Wed., Sept. 28.—"At Home," I.L.P. Rooms, Sale, 3. Hostess, Mrs. Hines. Miss Eunice Murray.  
Branch Meeting, Sale, 8. Miss Eunice Murray.
- Thurs., Sept. 29.—"At Home," Sale, 3. Hostess, Mrs. Daly. Miss Eunice Murray.  
Britannia Road, Sale, 8. Miss Eunice Murray.
- Fri., Sept. 30.—Broadheath, 12.30. Miss Eunice Murray.  
"At Home," Urmston, 8. Miss Eunice Murray.
- Sat., Oct. 1.—Mass Meeting, Stevenson Square, Manchester, 7.30. Miss Eunice Murray, Miss Neal, Miss Janet Heyes.
- Sun., Oct. 2.—Urmston Fair Ground, 8. Miss E. Murray.
- Sunderland.**
- Mon., Oct. 10.—Victoria Hall. Pageant of Great Women, 8 p.m.
- Ipswich.**
- Thurs., Oct. 20.—Public Hall. Pageant of Great Women.
- Portsmouth.**
- Fri., Sept. 23.—New Road, Copnor, 7.30. Mrs. Whetton.
- Mon., Sept. 26.—Town Hall Square, 7.30. Mrs. Whetton.
- WALES.**
- Sept. 29 to Oct. 4.—National Executive in South Wales
- Thurs., Sept. 29.—Gorseinon. Mrs. Despard, Miss Alison Neilans.
- Fri., Sept. 30.—Swansea. Drawing-room Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Hostess, Mrs. Hutton.  
Neath. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Vulliamy.  
Cardiff. Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Manson.
- Sat., Oct. 1.—Maesteg, The Square. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Sproson.  
Port Talbot. Mrs. Borrman-Wells, Miss Alison Neilans.
- Mon., Oct. 3.—Albert Hall, Swansea. "At Home," 3.30. Mrs. How-Martyn and others. Mass Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Billington-Greig and others.
- GLASGOW.**
- Wed., Sept. 28.—Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall Street, 7.30 p.m. Councillor J. W. Pratt, Esq.

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